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JOURNAL
of
EARLY SOUTHERN
DECORATIVE ARTS

May, 1980
Volume VI, Number 1
The Museum of Early Southern
Decorative Arts

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JOURNAL
of
EARLY SOUTHERN
DECORATIVE ARTS

May, 1980
Volume VI, Number 1
Published twice yearly in
May and November by
The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts

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Printed by Hall Printing Company
High Point, North Carolina

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Figure 1. Stair balustrade of the John Marshall House, Richmond, Virginia, 1789. Turned by Andrew McKim, according to an entry in John Marshall's account book. Courtesy of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. MESDA research file S-6515.

Andrew and Robert McKim
Windsor Chair Makers

GILES CROMWELL

The making of windsor chairs and the related trade of turning both have an interesting history in Richmond. In this article, attention will be concentrated on the partnership of Andrew and Robert McKim, perhaps the two leading craftsmen of their trade in the city, during their period of joint work from 1795 through 1805. After Andrew's death in 1805, Robert continued making windsor chairs at least until 1820.

Many of the business and domestic aspects of the McKims' presence in Richmond are unknown, as might be expected, though the difficulty of establishing their trade, either individually or collectively, before the early 1790s remains difficult. Andrew McKim, however, does appear in the personal tax records of the city by July, 1789, when he was taxed for three male tithables.¹ Also, in August, 1789, the Directors of the Public Buildings in Richmond authorized payment of eighteen shillings to him for turning six ornaments, as yet unidentified, for the new capitol.² He was also sufficiently well-established by November of this same year to have supplied the stair balustrade for the nearly completed John Marshall House at 818 East Marshall Street, charging £ 2:17:6 for the work.³ This balustrade (Fig. 1) represents the only known example of Andrew's work other than his chairs and, with its component parts of newel-post, balusters, and hand rail, demonstrates the importance of the turner and his lathe in both furniture construction and architectural finish work. The lower turning in the vasiform design of the balusters is also present in certain labeled windsor chairs with vasiform turned legs.

In 1792, Andrew McKim acquired several pieces of property within the city. On February 20, 1792, he made an indenture with James Ternan, an apothecary with substantial real estate holdings, for vacant property on lot 365, measuring 40 feet wide by 78 feet deep, facing Main Street between 11th and 12th Streets in Madison Ward.⁴ In May of the same year, he acquired from Ninian Wise an additional piece of property in the same general area measuring 49 feet wide by 78 feet deep.⁵ Andrew's third real estate purchase in 1792 was a joint purchase with William McKim, a carpenter, and Robert McKim (all assumed to be family, and probably brothers) on lot 414 in Madison Ward, and this third purchase was located only two blocks west of his previous purchases. Lot 414 fronted the south side of Main Street between 9th and 10th Streets.⁶ A proximity between Andrew's later residence on lot 365, on which construction began by 1794, and a later chair shop and rental property on lot 414 began to be established by the end of 1792.

Robert McKim's first recorded individual real estate purchase took place on August 28, 1794, when he acquired vacant property on lot 513 in Monroe Ward.⁷ This property, however, was not as accessible to the McKim shop, and the author believes they both shared the same living and working area on lot 365 during construction of Andrew's brick three-story house, which was finished and insured for \$3,000 in February 1796.⁸ This residence measured 40 feet wide by 32 feet deep, and apparently it was from this location that Andrew and Robert first advertised in April and December of 1795 that they had copies of *The Young Millwright and Miller's Guide* by Oliver Evans, in addition to an assortment of the best German bolting cloth for sale, and that they were located ". . . a small distance above the Post-Office."⁹ The term "chair shop" does not appear in the advertisement. Actually, their partnership had been formed early in April of 1795 when they were first jointly listed in the personal property tax records, and by July 27, 1796, they were jointly taxed for six white and one black tithables.¹⁰

The first advertisement specifically referring to Andrew's and Robert's windsor chair shop as a place of business appeared on October 5, 1796, in *The Virginia Gazette and the General Advertiser* when they stated that "Andrew & Robert M'Kim, / At their Windsor Chair Shop / Have an Assortment of German / Boulting Cloths, / . . ."¹¹ Their chair shop was located on lot 414 at the corner of Main or E Street and 10th Street (Figs.



Figure 3. An enlarged portion of the Young map. The McKims' chair shop was located on lot 414, at the corner of E Street and 10th. The Virginia Manu- factory of Arms may also be seen near the James River. Courtesy the Virginia State Library, Map Collection, Archives Branch.

2 and 3). The shop probably faced Main Street, which was the primary thoroughfare. However, 10th Street was a principal street, leading to and from the canal basin area, and would have been an equally important route. That the shop fronted on Main Street is further substantiated by an advertisement in *The Enquirer* on November 30, 1813, in which J. H. Lynch, an auctioneer, offered at public sale a tenement on E [Main] Street “. . . and opposite Mr. Ro. McKim's Shop . . .” Regardless of which direction the shop faced, the northeast corner of lot 414 was a very strategic and necessary location for the merchandising of windsor chairs and other general items to the public.

By June, 1797, they were listed in the *Maryland Journal* in Baltimore, along with other individuals, as having “elevator buckets,” probably for grain silos, and were taking applications for Oliver Evans' millstones in Philadelphia. There was no reference to their trade as chairmakers, however.

One chair form which may have been made during this early period of their partnership is illustrated (Fig. 4) as a labeled fan-



Figure 4. A labeled side chair by the McKim shop, 1795-1805, poplar seat with base turnings of maple, spindles and crest of hickory. 32½" HOA, seat height 15¼", seat width 16½", seat depth 15½". Painted dark green. Private collection. MESDA research file S-6855.

back windsor side chair. Its well-tattered label bears the copy:

ANDREW & ROBT McKIM
makes every kind of
WINDSOR CHAIRS
In the neatest and best manner, in their
Chair Shop near the Post Office
RICHMOND

Another virtually identical chair having the same label has been examined. The chair illustrated here retains much of its original dark green paint, as does the matching chair. In both examples, the leg tenons pierce the seats and are wedged; the back stiles are pinned to the crest rails. As noted earlier, the lower sections of the vasiform turnings of the legs duplicate a portion of the 1789 Marshall House balustrade turnings. Although these turnings are a standard architectural form commonly used on windsors, they represent here a rare glimpse of a turner's trade applied outside his normal trade of seating furniture production. Numerous other southern chairmakers also turned stair balusters, no doubt, but their work of this nature is seldom identified.

The McKims' business continued to prosper during 1797, and sometime during this year they began construction of a large brick two-story building (Fig. 5) on lot 414 south of the shop. This structure actually was two individual tenements consisting of two apartments each. Each tenement measured 22 feet wide by 37 feet 8 inches deep and faced 10th Street. By February 20, 1798, the construction of the large building had progressed to where Andrew and Robert each felt the need to insure his own respective tenement for \$2,333.¹² Interestingly enough, while their tenements were insured, the chair shop, which was the McKims' principal place of business, evidently was not covered by any insurance.

Andrew continued to reside at his house on lot 365 on the north side of Main Street, the new tenement house with its two apartments serving as rental property for him. Robert, however, chose to occupy the second floor apartment of his new tenement as his permanent residence and rented the first floor apartment on the street. Following the trend toward business diversification by many artisans in the post-Revolutionary period, the McKims must have found it necessary to spend considerable

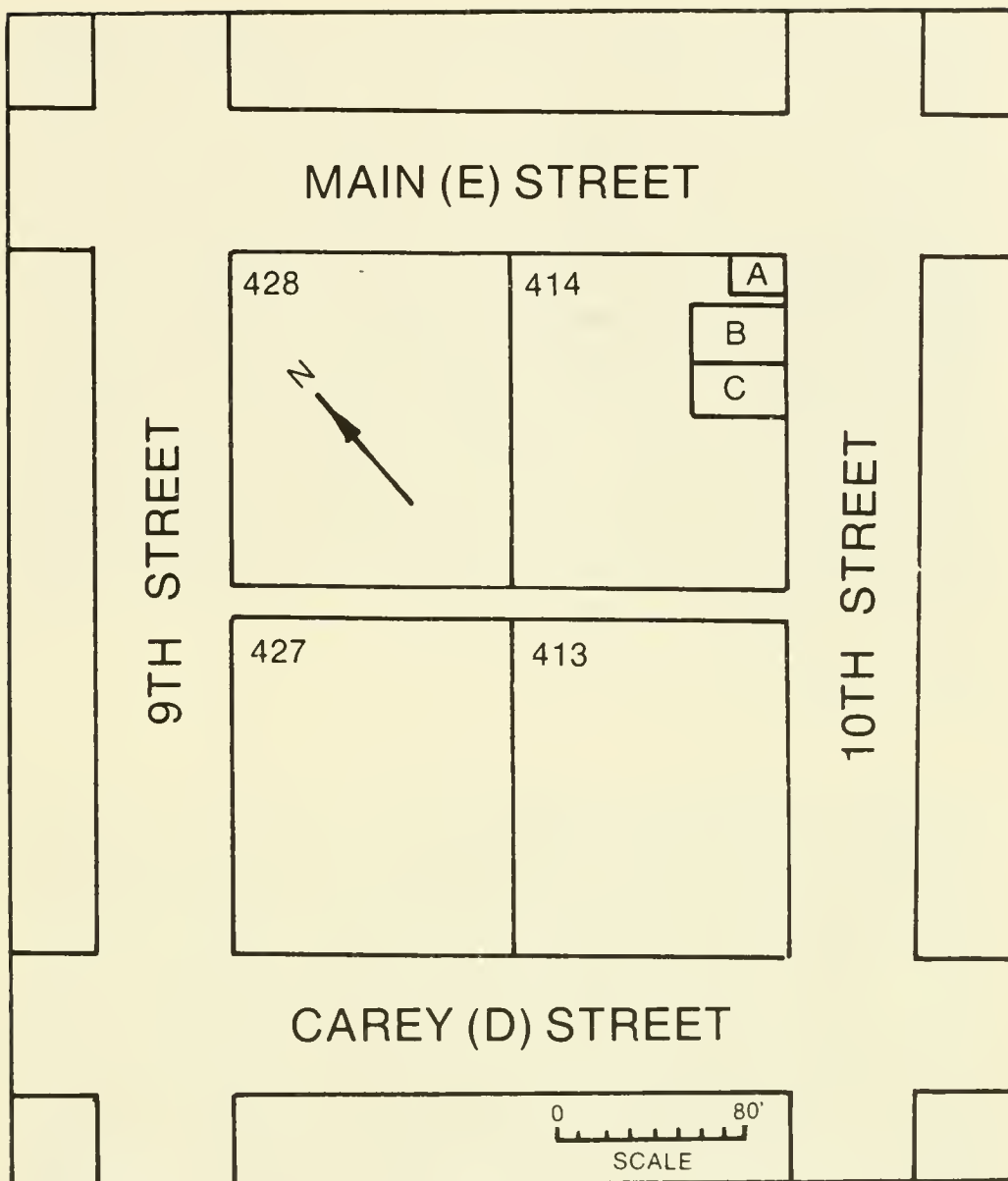


Figure 5. Conceptual plan of building placement on lot 414 from 1795 to 1816, gleaned from Mutual Assurance Society policies.

A. Andrew and Robert McKims' chair shop (1795-1805) until the former's death and then occupied by Robert until destroyed by fire in 1816. The shop dimensions are unknown but probably did not exceed approximately 18 x 18 feet.

B. Robert McKim's brick two-story tenement 22 feet x 37 feet 8 inches separated from the chair shop by a 6 foot wide alley.

C. Andrew McKim's brick two-story tenement 22 feet x 37 feet 8 inches contiguous to Robert's tenement. These two tenements were also destroyed by the fire which spread from the chair shop in 1816.

time managing their respective real estate holdings within the city. From 1798 through early 1816, various tenants would occupy these apartments including Ladd Anthony and Com-

pany, Alexander McKim (a carpenter), William Nimmo, George Mrasse, Virginia Ratcliff (a mantua or dressmaker), and Allen Pollock and Company. Also, the *Daily Compiler* newspaper office leased one apartment, and its publisher, L. H. Girardian, occupied another. The post office also used space in the building.

The first recorded notice of several runaways from the McKims appeared in March, 1798, when they advertised for an apprentice lad who had left in January, and an offer of 18 pence was announced for his return,¹³ although it isn't known whether or not he was returned. On June 1, 1799, one Holt Pannell apprenticed himself to the McKims, and his employment once again brought their tithables to five white and one black males over sixteen years old. This might be considered an average number of artisans generally associated with the McKim shop during the 1795-1805 period. The terms of Pannell's apprenticeship read:

Holt Pannell doth voluntarily and of his own free will and accord put himself apprentice to Andrew and Robert McKim Windsor Chair makers and turners Richmond to learn their trade and mystery . . . for 3 yr.s & 7 months, NB. The above Andrew & Robert McKim agree to give the above Holt Pannell a suit of freedom clothes.¹⁴

Paralleling the McKims' career in Richmond during this period was the construction of the Virginia Manufactory of Arms (Fig. 6) at the end of 5th Street between the Kanawha Canal and the James River. Authorized by the General Assembly in 1798, this institution produced all of the weapons for the state's militia from 1802 through 1821.¹⁵ The principal suppliers of the timber for the interior of this armory were William and Alexander McKim, presumably brothers of Andrew and Robert, and being carpenters, William and Alexander, along with several other carpenters, constructed the framing and other general work in this building. As turners, Andrew and Robert likewise played an interesting role in the establishment of the armory by supplying large quantities of various sizes of rollers, cogs, and pulleys for the armory's water-powered machinery. More specifically, and of particular importance to this study, is the fact that in 1802 they also supplied six windsor chairs and "2 tall Stools" for Superintendent John Clarke's office in the building. They



Figure 6. The "View from Gambles Hill," Richmond, showing the Virginia Manufactory of Arms, the lithograph taken from a drawing by the German landscape artist, Edward Beyer, ca. 1840. The McKims furnished machinery parts for the armory and seating furniture for the superintendent's office in 1802. Courtesy the Virginia State Library.

1802 The Commonwealth of Virginia to Andrew & Robert McKim L^r

July 23 ^d	To 20 rollers for the Manufactory of Arms	29	0..15..0
27 th	To 8 Ditto for Ditto	29	6..0
Aug. 23 ^d	To 5 Ditto for Ditto	9	3..9
—	To turning 47 Coggs for Ditto	42	15..8
26 th	To 6 Windsor Chairs for the Superintendants Office	109	3..0..0
—	To 1 Large pulley for the Manufactory of arms	—	9..9
Sept. 20 th	To 2 tall Stools for the Superintendants Office	76	15..0
Oct. 28 th	To 8 rollers for the Manufactory of Arms	29	6..0
—	To 2 Large oak pulleys for Ditto	246	2..0
			<hr/> £ 6..5..2

The above work executed by Mess^{rs} McKim, was done for the Manufactory of Arms, and appertaining to the ~~manufactory~~ building of the Manufactory.

Sp 20..87. And was not

And Robt McKim March 15th 1803.

Figure 7. John Clarke's voucher regarding payment to Andrew and Robert McKim for materials and windsor furniture supplied to the Virginia Manufactory of Arms in 1802. Courtesy the Virginia State Library, Archives Branch.

received \$20.87 (Fig. 7) for these items and furnishings.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the designs of these armory furnishings are unknown, but the labeled sack-back side chair (Fig. 8) represents another McKim chair form produced during the period, one which could have been used at the armory. The label reads:

AND^W & ROB^t M'KIM
Windsor Chair-Makers
Near the POST-OFFICE
RICHMOND

The simplified label may indicate that this piece was produced during a later period of their partnership after the more detailed labels had been discontinued. This chair has the same seat form as the stylistically earlier fan-back side chairs, including a gouge-cut incised line defining the back-spindle "table" at the rear of the seat. The vasiform legs and swelled stretchers of the base duplicate the fan-back chairs, just as the construction of the base does, making it difficult to separate this chair chronologically from the fan-backs without the labeling differential and the use of bamboo-turned back spindles.¹⁷ The label of this example, in fact, is imprinted with a guilloche border identical to the earlier label, at least indicating that the McKims bespoke their printing in the same shop when a new label was required.

Sharing the same label (Fig. 10), but with fully-developed bamboo turnings throughout, is another sack-back side chair (Fig. 9). Like the chair in Fig. 8, this example has a somewhat exaggerated break in the curve of the back, just above where the back joins the seat, a feature which appears to be consistent among the McKim chairs studied¹⁸ and may represent something of a "signature" of the shop's work. Also, like the chair in Fig. 8, this example has a seven-spindle back, with four spindles — two on each side of the center spindle — piercing the back rail. Although this chair represents a slightly later style in its base turnings, there is little to actually suggest that it can be dated significantly later than its vasiform-leg counterpart.

Yet another labeled McKim chair, and one which serves as a barometer of shifting styles in the McKim shop at the beginning of the 19th century, is a rare writing-arm chair with a drawer (Fig. 11). The label used on this example (Fig. 12) represents a third label form used by the McKim brothers and has the



Figure 8. Labeled sack-back side chair by the McKims, 1795-1805, poplar seat with base turnings of maple, spindles and back of hickory. HOA 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Refinished. Private collection. MESDA research file S-5775.



Figure 9. Labeled sack-back side chair by the McKims, 1795-1805, poplar seat with base turnings of maple except for a yellow pine center stretcher; spindles and back of hickory. HOA 37½", seat height 17¼", seat width 17", seat depth 15¾". Painted black with yellow-penciled "joint" turnings. MESDA accession 3165.

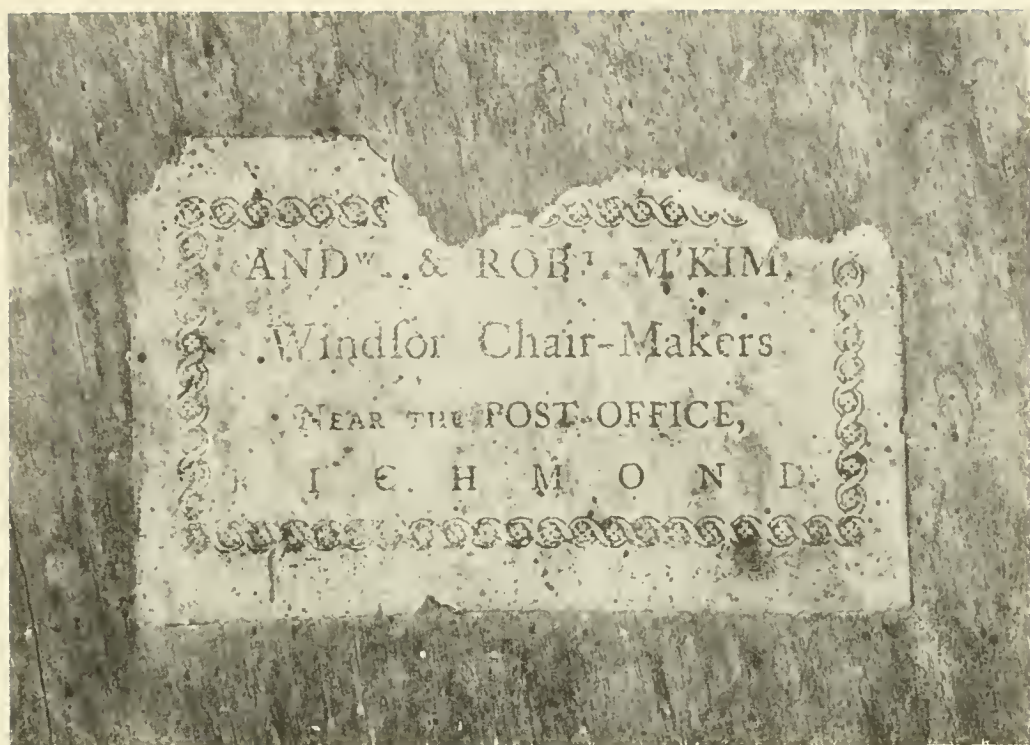


Figure 10. Label of the McKim chair in Fig. 9; the imprint duplicates the label used on the chair in Fig. 8.

unusual feature of having blank spaces provided for adding the date of production, which reads on this example “May 31, 1802.” The broad rectangular section of the crest and upper sections of the back stiles, along with the squared form of the back, relate the chair somewhat to the Sheraton style. The solid stance of the chair provided by the broad rake of the legs is augmented by the excellent proportions which the indented seat helps to provide. The left indentation is actually extended as a harmonious “outrider” to support the writing-arm spindles. The tenons of both arms completely pierce the back stiles. Like earlier McKim chairs, both inner and outer edges of the back stiles are molded, though here the treatment is extended to the edges of the arms, writing surface, and seat. In all, the chair follows a sophisticated urban style that is generally better developed than much other surviving Richmond chair productions of the same period.

The continued production of chairs coupled with increased demands placed on the McKims’ trade by the needs of the Virginia Manufactory necessitated a continual employment of new apprentices, and in April, 1804, the court ordered that “. . . the overseers of the poor of this City bind out according



Figure 11. Labeled writing-arm chair by the McKims, dated 1802. Woods not analyzed. HOA 37 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", seat height 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", seat width 24", seat depth 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", writing arm 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Refinished; originally painted red. MESDA accession 3182. Photo courtesy the H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum.

to law to Andrew and Robert McKim (windsor chair-makers) Pleasant Willis orphan of Pleasant Willis deceased till he attains the age of twenty one years, the Court adjudging him to be sixteen years of age on the eleventh of May next."¹⁹ Unfortunately, Andrew would not live to see this apprenticeship completed, for late in 1805, probably during December, he died leaving two orphaned children himself, Mary Ann and Andrew, Jr. Robert and Alexander McKim were the administrators of his estate. His effects were appraised by William McKim, Robert Hyde, John P. Shields, William Pointer (also a Richmond windsor chairmaker), and William Derrough at a total value of \$628.74. Included among his personal effects were listed ten windsor chairs valued at one dollar each²⁰. The administrators

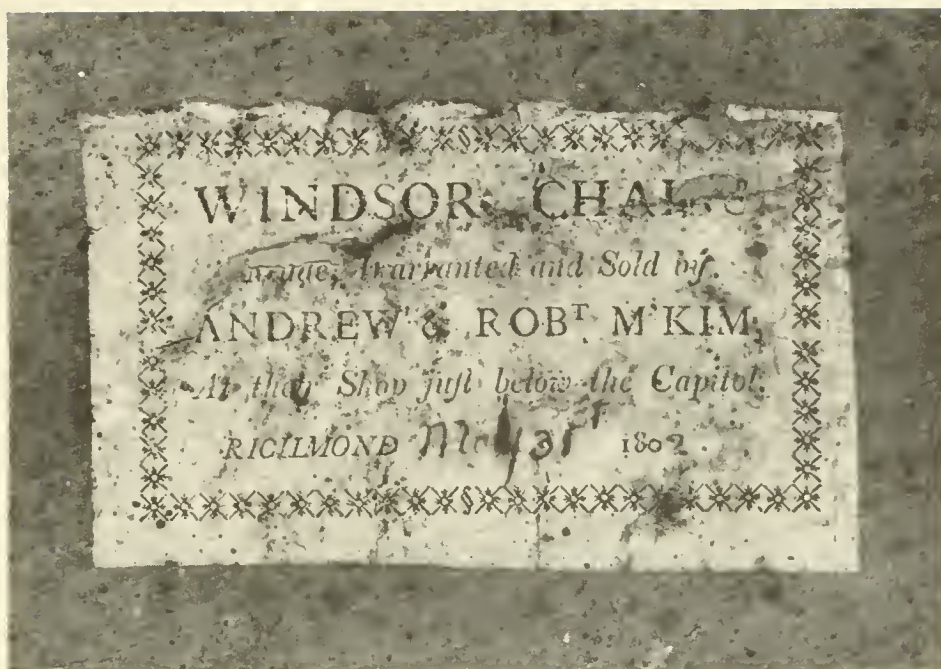


Figure 12. Label of the McKim chair illustrated in Fig. 11. Photo courtesy the H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum.

placed the following notice in both *The Virginia Argus* and *The Enquirer* on January 21, 1806:

Sale at Auction

Will be sold at Public Auction, on Tuesday the 28th inst. at the late dwelling house of Andrew McKim, deceased, *all his Household & Kitchen Furniture* & one valuable Cow. Terms of sale - cash for all sums under ten dollars, for all over that sum nine months credit will be allowed, on giving bond and approved security.

Richmond, Jan. 17, 1806

N.B. The House of the
deceased to be rented.

Robert McKim

Alex'r McKim

Adm'rs.

Among the items sold at the above sale were the six windsor chairs to L. W. Grace for \$1.75 each and the remaining four to T. B. Burling for \$1.00 each. The total amount of this sale amounted to \$422.41.²¹ Thus, an interesting and quite productive partnership of ten years (1795-1805) ended, and extant examples made by the partners are scarce. Hopefully additional pieces and new forms, particularly the elusive arm chairs and possibly settees, will be recognized. All of the McKims' pieces deserve recognition not only as products of identifiable

tradesmen, but, equally important, these examples unmistakably convey through their simplicity and durability the art of windsor chair making in the South.

Robert McKim continued making windsor chairs for many years after Andrew's death, and while no labeled examples have been located for inclusion with this article, presumably their forms initially followed those designs successfully produced during his partnership with Andrew. Robert was elected as an alderman from Madison Ward in 1811 and continued to receive apprentices.²² In 1813, he took William R. Wood, who was the brother of an earlier apprentice, Alexander H. Wood. Alexander and several other apprentices, however, ran away from McKim in March, 1815, and his advertisement for their return stated that the apprentices had learned a "pretty general knowledge" of the trade of windsor chair making and turning and that Wood particularly had acquired the art of gilding and ornamental painting.²³ In 1814, Robert was unanimously appointed as the sole representative of his trade to draft a constitution for forming a new "Benevolent Mechanical Society" in Richmond.²⁴

McKim's business suffered a series of devastating fires in early 1816. The first fire destroyed his lumber house, and then on the evening of February 16, his stable was destroyed. This last fire endangered, but did not harm, his tenements. On the evening of March 5 around eight o'clock, a third fire engulfed his chair shop. This fire, the work of an arsonist, just as the previous ones were, was well reported in *The Daily Compiler's* account of March 9, 1816, which stated in part:

The workshop of Mr. Robert McKim, Chair-Maker, already was a prey to the devouring element . . . and that shop was almost in contact with the tenement partly occupied by us . . . The tenement consisting of two houses, appropriated to the Post-Office, to the establishment of the Daily Compiler, and to the residence of two families, that of Mr. Robert McKim, and that of L. H. Girardian, being constructed of brick, and covered with shingles, resisted for a while the power of the flames. The whole, therefore, ultimately shared the fate of the shop where the fire commenced.

In addition, *The Enquirer* on March 6 reported in part:

This is the 4th alarm that the Post Office and the Compiler have had within the last 6 months. The 3rd within the last month. Mr. McKim has lost both his houses; the materials of his trade; and much of his furniture materially injured . . . Mr. McKim had locked up his shop this evening with his own hands — no fire was left within, and he was from home when the fire burst forth — What a heart must that human being be cursed with, who could thus plot a succession of villanies, fraught as these were with aggravated disasters to a worthy and amiable man.²⁵

The seriousness of these fires prompted the city's mayor, John G. Gamble, to offer a \$500 reward in *The Virginia Argus* for the arsonist's capture and conviction. Naturally, many citizens immediately increased their insurance, fearing for their own properties.²⁶ Local concern may have been abated by a report, admittedly based somewhat on hearsay, appearing in the *American Beacon and Commercial Diary* from Norfolk on July 31, 1816, that a mulatto man named Billy Blue had been hung in Philadelphia after having been detected while attempting to burn part of that city. The report continued that Blue had confessed to having been the destroyer of Mr. McKim's houses in Richmond. Certain discrepancies, however, may have invalidated this story.

Regardless of the financial distress and inconvenience brought about by these fires, Robert apparently lost little time re-establishing himself in the city. He began construction almost immediately of both a new house for his family and also three new tenements all on lot 414, one of which probably served partially as his new chair shop. Construction had progressed such that by January 2, 1817, he insured his new, unfinished brick three-story house, measuring 22 feet wide by 38½ feet deep, for \$3,500. This new house was located south of his new tenements and faced 10th Street.²⁷ Also during this month, he insured two of his new tenements for \$3,000 each, and the third new building for \$3,500. These three buildings, also brick three-story with slate roofs, faced Main Street (Fig. 13).²⁸

One of the last references to Robert McKim found was his account of April 1820 against “. . . the Corporation of Richmond amounting to \$64 for 12 chairs with stuffed seats furnished by him for the use of this [Husting] Court, allowed &

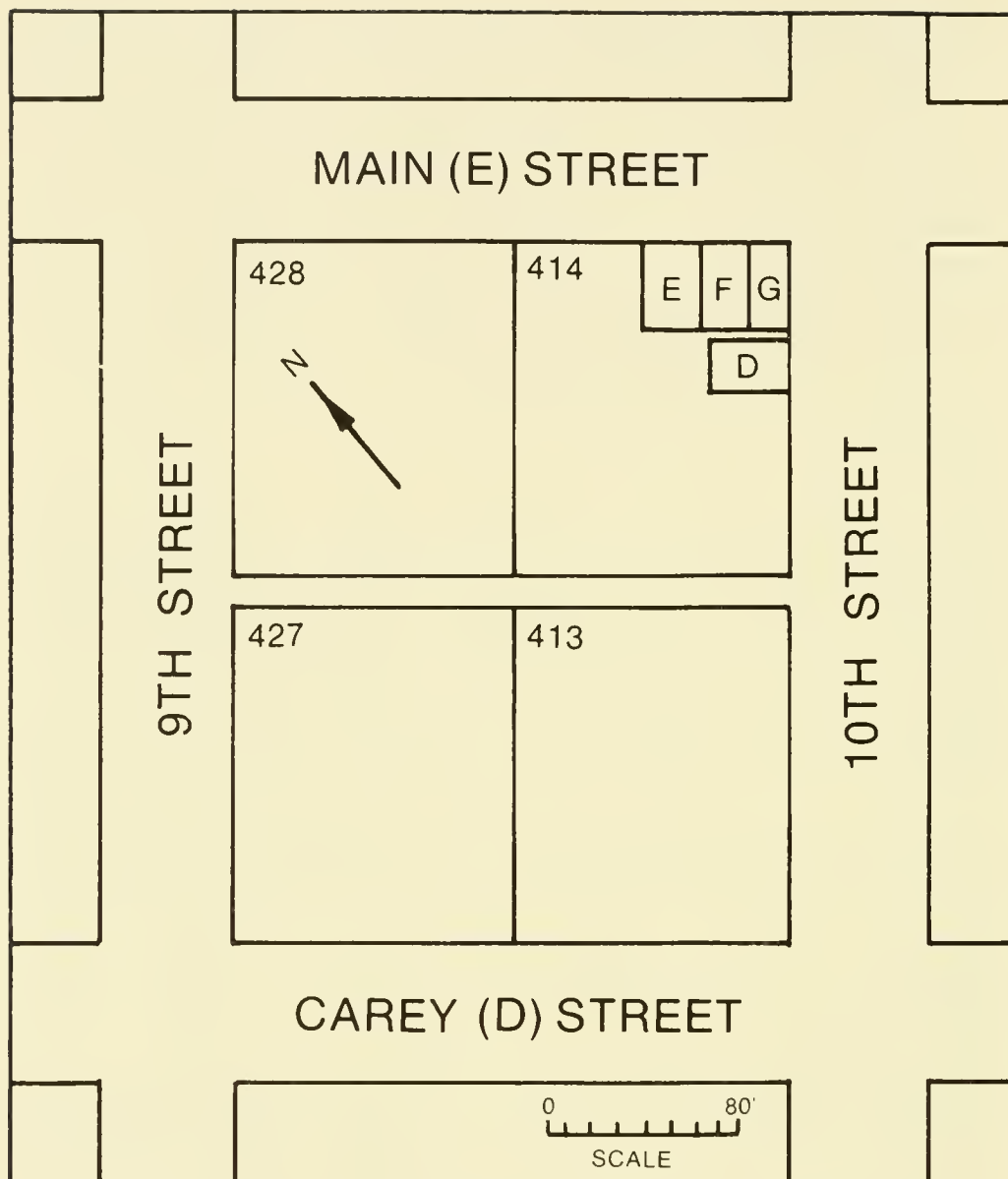


Figure 13. Conceptual plan of building placement on lot 414 from 1817 to 1822, gleaned from Mutual Assurance Society policies.

D. Robert McKim's brick three-story house covered with slate 22 feet x 38 feet 6 inches built after the 1816 fire.

E-G. Three contiguous brick three-story tenements covered with slate built by Robert after the 1816 fire, and one of them, probably "G" contained his new chair shop. Building "E" dimensions 26 x 40 feet; buildings "F" and "G" both had dimensions 20 feet 6 inches x 40 feet.

ordered to be paid by Chamberlain."'²⁹ No obituary or public sale of McKim's effects have been located, though there is a reference to Robert's "estate" in the Personal Property Tax Lists for 1823, so presumably he died sometime during the preceding year.

Mr. Cromwell, a student of southern furniture and the author of The Virginia Manufactory of Arms, lives in Richmond, Virginia, and is a distillers' representative for the state.

FOOTNOTES

1. Richmond City, Personal Property Tax Lists 1787-1799, Positive Reel N. 111, for July 1789.
2. Capitol Square Date, Auditor's Item 137, Vouchers 201-304, 1789-1790, voucher no. 280, for Aug. 5, 1789.
3. *The Papers of John Marshall*, 2 vols., Charles T. Cullen and Herbert A. Johnson, editors, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, in association with the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1977, vol. 2, p. 11.
4. Richmond City, *Husting's Deeds*, Grantee Book No. 2, p. 23, for Feb. 20, 1792.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 21, for May 8, 1792.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 21, for Oct. 22, 1792.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 120, for Aug. 28, 1794.
8. *Mutual Assurance Society*, Richmond, Volume 12, Policy No. 20, Feb. 1796.
9. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, April 22, Dec. 16, Dec. 18, 1795.
10. Richmond City, Personal Property Tax Lists 1787-1799, Positive Reel No. 111, for April 11, 1795 and July 27, 1796.
11. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, Oct. 5, 1796.
12. *Mutual Assurance Society*, Richmond, Volume 13, Policy Nos. 267 and 268, Feb. 20, 1798.
13. *The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Richmond, April 31, 1798.
14. Richmond City, *Husting's Deeds*, Grantee Book No. 2, p. 586, for June 1, 1799; Richmond City, *Husting's Court Order Book* No. 4, p. 292, June 10, 1799.
15. Giles Cromwell, *The Virginia Manufactory of Arms* (Univ. Press of Virginia, 1975), 208 pp.
16. Vouchers and Miscellaneous Papers, Va. Mfg. of Arms, 1785-1864, box no. 1, for Mar. 18, 1803, Accession no. 13239, auditor's item no. 217; Virginia State Library.
17. The author knows of another Andrew and Robert McKim sack-back Windsor side chair which has plain (i.e., lacks any bamboo motif) tapered back spindles and has vasiform legs and swelled stretchers. This chair has not been personally examined but probably represents yet another proper variant of the form.
18. The author has also inspected a pair of labeled McKim chairs in The Valentine Museum Collection, Richmond, Va. which are identical both as to label wording and overall construction and design to the chair il-

- lustrated in (Fig. 8). The Valentine pair, in addition to these chairs (Figs. 8 and 9), have this inward bend of their bow backs occurring distinctively up from where the backs enter the seats. The average dimensions of this pair are: H. 37½ inches, W. (front legs) 21 inches, Seat: W. 17¾ inches, D. 15¾ inches.
19. Richmond City, *Husting's Court Order Book*, Book No. 5, p. 438, for April 11, 1804.
 20. *Ibid.*, Book No. 6, p. 328, for Jan. 13, 1806; Richmond City, *Husting's Deeds*, Book No. 5, p. 413, for Jan. 15, 1806.
 21. Richmond City, *Husting's Deeds*, Book No. 5, p. 415, for Jan. 28, 1806.
 22. *The Virginia Argus*, Richmond, April 8, 1811, and April 6, 1812.
 23. By October 1817, both Alexander H. and William R. Wood had established a windsor chair shop on the corner of Market and Spring Streets in Nashville, Tennessee, and by 1819 they had expanded their trade to include sign and ornamental painting at their new location next to D. Robertson's Book Store in Nashville. Source: *Clarion and Tennessee State Gazette*, Nashville, Oct. 7, 1817; *The Nashville Whig and Tennessee Advertiser*, Oct. 6, 1817; also for Jan. 31, 1818, May 1, 1819, and Aug. 7, 1819; *The Nashville Gazette*, June 12, 1819.
 24. *Virginia Argus*, Richmond, June 15, 1814.
 25. This catastrophe was also recorded in the *Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger*, Virginia, Mar. 9, 1816; the *Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald*, Mar. 11, 1816; *The Enquirer*, Richmond, Mar. 6, 1816; *Alexandria Gazette, Commercial and Political*, Virginia, Mar. 9, 1816.
 26. *Mutual Assurance Society*, Richmond, Volume 53, Policy No. 554, Mar. 9, 1816.
 27. *Ibid.*, Volume 54, Policy No. 716, Jan. 2, 1817.
 28. *Ibid.*, Volume 54, Policy No. 809, Jan. 2, 1817. The new tenements measured 20½ feet by 40 feet deep, and the third new building 24½ feet by 40 feet deep.
 29. Richmond City, *Husting's Court Order Book* No. 7, p. 364, April 20, 1820.

The author particularly extends his appreciation for assistance with this article to the following at MESDA: Frank L. Horton, Director; Bradford L. Rauschenberg, Research Fellow; John Bivins, Jr., Director of Publications. The author also wishes to acknowledge the kind assistance of Elizabeth Taylor Childs, Curator of Collections, Valentine Museum, Richmond; Fran Richardson, E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, and Catherine Smith, Head of Public Service, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, for their interest and suggestions. The author further thanks A. Baylor Cromwell, Mr. and Mrs. Ed LaFond, and Mrs. Nancy Goyne Evans of Winterthur for their assistance.

The Mount Shepherd Pottery: Correlating Archaeology and History

L. MCKAY WHATLEY

In recent decades, most students of early ceramics in this country have come to agree that the products of long vanished potteries cannot be examined in an exhaustive manner without bringing to bear every research tool possible. In ceramic analysis, this means that both archaeology and historical research, working together, are necessary to bring forth all of the information possible about a pottery site. Either documentation or excavated material is necessary to establish provenance, and provenance, to a great extent, provides legitimacy to an otherwise questionable artifact.

North Carolina has been blessed with a long and usually fruitful marriage between historical archaeology and primary research. One particularly outstanding example is the mid-18th century Moravian settlement of Bethabara, which was extensively excavated by Stanley South and a team of State archaeologists in the 1960s. The net result of the Bethabara dig, in combination with an exhaustive examination of records in the Moravian Archives, has been a very successful interpretation of life in a once thriving pioneer Moravian town. Particularly significant in the Bethabara project were two pottery sites excavated, the first established in 1756 by the potter Gottfried Aust and the second operated in the late 1780s by Aust's former apprentice, Rudolf Christ. Both of these potters later worked in the town of Salem, established in 1766, six miles from Bethabara. In studying the work of these men, archaeological evidence was used to flesh out the historical documentation and to provide sound identification of intact surviving ceramics in the

collection of Old Salem, Incorporated. A ceramic typology for the Moravian wares was established, providing a detailed study of what may well be considered the most complex earthenware tradition in 18th-century America.

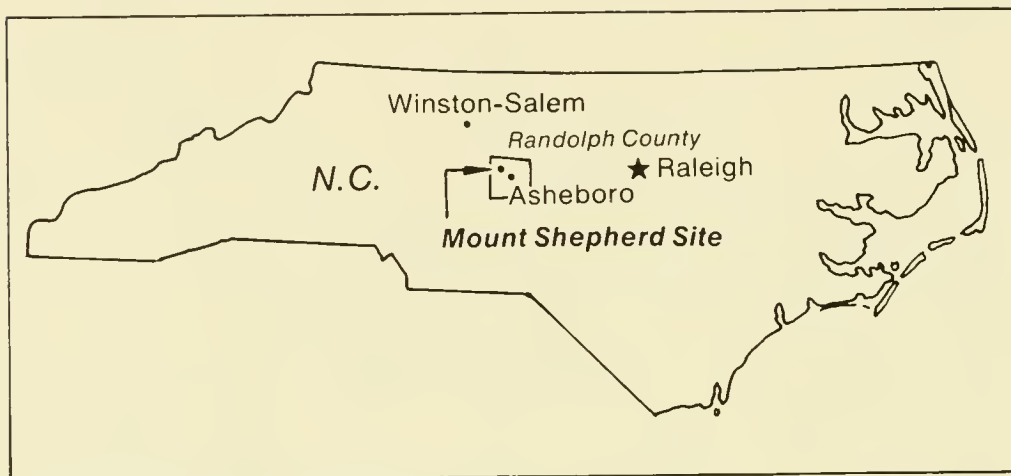


Figure 1. Location of the Mount Shepherd pottery site.

Two years after the excavation of the Bethabara potteries, another important 18th-century North Carolina pottery site was discovered in Randolph County, some fifty miles southeast of the Moravians' Wachovia Tract. The new site, however, provided a strong contrast with the Bethabara dig in that the archaeology was carried out initially without historical context. Little or nothing was known of the history of the site, so the recovered artifacts were divorced from a confident provenance. Since the discovery of the new site, and its subsequent excavation, a painstaking process of reconstructing the documentary background of the site has provided answers to a good number of archaeological questions regarding the site.

This site, now generally known as the Mount Shepherd Pottery, is located in north-central Randolph County, eight miles northwest of the present city of Asheboro (Fig. 1). Situated in a steep, hilly terrain, the site is actually in the Uwharrie mountain range; the large hills in the area are the worn remainders of what is geologically considered to be the oldest mountain range in the western hemisphere. The well-traveled "Trading Path," which had been used for commerce before the 1750s, and earlier yet by the Indians, crossed the county within a half-mile of the pottery site on its course southwestward through the state.

Randolph County has long been known as one of the early

centers of pottery making in North Carolina, so the discovery of the Mount Shepherd site in 1968 promised considerable significance to the study of local ceramics. Long held oral tradition in the area has suggested that English potters from the Staffordshire district had settled in Randolph in the mid-18th century; the first of these potters is said to have been Peter Craven. Other families of potters, such as the Coles and Foxes, appear in county records by the end of the 18th-century. Members of the Beard and Dicks families are known to have been potting in northwest Randolph as early as the 1790s, and initial conjecture suggested that one of them may have established the Mount Shepherd site. Because of strong local tradition, it was naturally assumed that the pottery site was linked with English ceramic tradition.

When the existence of the pottery was brought to the attention of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Auman of Seagrove, both potters and proprietors of the Seagrove Pottery Museum in the southern part of the county, the Aumans began an energetic drive to bring attention to the site. With the assistance of the Mint Museum in Charlotte, N.C., the Aumans formed an association called "North Carolina Historical Potters Exploration, Inc." This organization sponsored an archaeological test of the site in 1971, followed by the hiring of an archaeologist and excavation of the site in the summer of 1974. In the initial work, a kiln and various related features were excavated; during the following summer, 1975, much of the remainder of the site was unearthed. In 1980, the site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The pottery site lies on the crest of a small ridge at the foot of Mount Shepherd, bordered by two intermittent creeks, which are part of the Uwharrie River watershed. A six-foot high wire fence was installed to protect the areas of major surface scatter and visible archaeological remains. Four low mounds and several shallow pits were originally visible, overlaid — as is the majority of the site — with a film of exposed pottery shards generated during the occupation. Adjacent to the north is a camp caretaker's residence, separated from the site by a gravel access road which forms part of the western boundary of a 600-acre camp. In the 1960s, the area between the site and the road was bulldozed to provide space for a garden.

For about 100 years, beginning in the 1820s, the area between Shepherd's Mountain and the Uwharrie River was known as the "Hoover Hill" community, named after the Hoover Hill

Gold Mine. The mine was the most elaborate and lucrative such operation in Randolph County, featuring tunnels more than 400 feet below ground. Open shaft entrances are visible today less than a quarter mile from the pottery site, but the surrounding boom-town neighborhood of houses, shops, church and industry has completely vanished. Consequently, much of the history of the area is unknown to local residents or is so fragmentary as to assume an almost mythological character. It was of little surprise that older inhabitants could not recall hearing of a pottery at the site. Although deed research was begun by Mrs. Lewis Grigg, a county historian, in an attempt to identify the earliest owners of the property, results were so inconclusive that all archaeological investigation was carried out in conjunction with a complete lack of documentary evidence.



Figure 2. Excavated kiln base at the Mount Shepherd pottery site. Alain Outlaw photograph.

J. H. Kelly's October, 1971, test dig report on the site concluded that "the importance of this site in relation to the development of ceramics in America as a whole, and to North Carolina in particular, cannot be overestimated."¹ Based on the findings of his three small test trenches, however, the importance of the site was in danger of being overstated. Excavated material included glazed bricks, various earthenware shards glazed in dark brown, yellow, and green, and assorted pieces of kiln furniture such as a type of three-legged trivet, three inches in diameter, terminating in short horizontal points. Foremost among the finds were fragments of unglazed press-molded stove tiles, with bold relief decorations, and a single decorated reed-pipe head.

Only the latter was definitely related by Kelly to material excavated by Stanley South at the Gottfried Aust pottery site in Bethabara, even though the stove tiles excavated were also obviously similar to Moravian products. With the Moravian relationship in mind, Kelly pointed out that "it must be born in mind that . . . some [of the shards] may be domestic refuse imported from other kiln sites."² It was felt at the time that the English heritage of Randolph County was being unfairly ignored in favor of the more thoroughly examined Moravian tradition.

In June, 1974, the "Historical Potters Exploration" hired Alain Outlaw, an archaeologist with the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, to supervise a volunteer group of excavators. In a month of intensive effort, two major areas of the site were exposed. Excavation of one 15' x 8' mound revealed a well preserved, five-flued circular kiln (Fig. 2) filled with ashes and a multitude of utilitarian earthenware shards.³ It was surmised that the kiln had collapsed during its final firing, destroying the load of coarse hollow ware crocks or "cream pots" inside and leading to the abandonment of the site.

Another mound disclosed an unusual brick foundation which was originally thought to be a chimney base. Associated with this feature was a mass of fragments of Moravian style stove tiles. These were of two types: a rectangular tile featuring a soldier posed at attention (subsequently called the "Minuteman") and a square tile showing a man on horseback (subsequently called the "Dragoon") (Fig. 4). Shards of a type of utilitarian redware bowl were found, measuring about 10½ inches in diameter, with strong everted rims below which lay thickened external ribs (Fig. 17). As for kiln furniture, more

trivets were produced, as well as unusual, straight-sided pipe saggars. These were crude circular vessels with bottoms perforated to accept removable clay pins. Glazed pipe heads were inverted on these pins to simplify the process of firing.

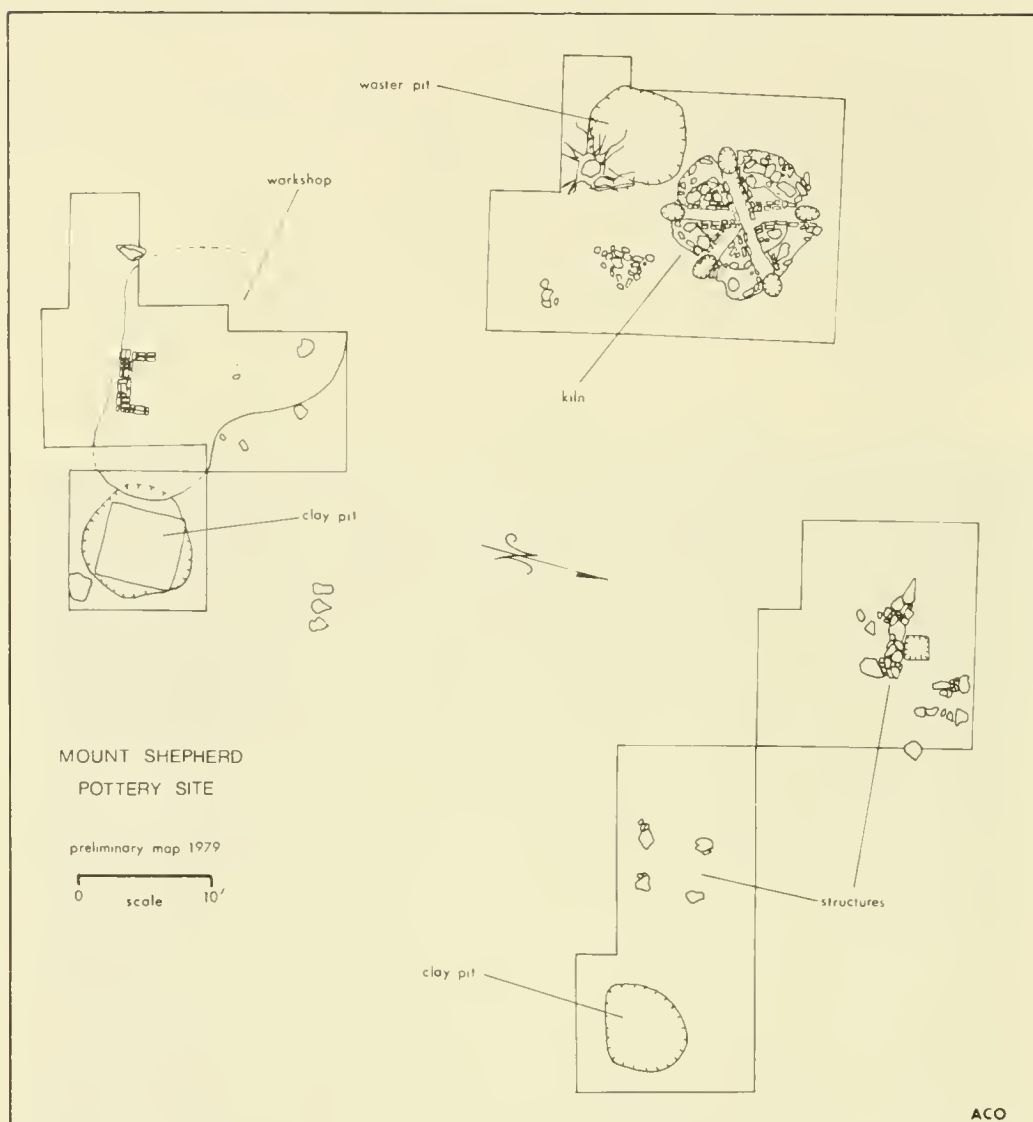


Figure 3. Site plan of the Mount Shepherd pottery, showing the kiln base, waster pit, and remaining building foundations. Prepared by Alain Outlaw.

Dateable material included a fragment of a Rhenish stoneware bottle not generally imported to America after the Revolution and thus indicating a general 18th-century date. A more important find was a shard of plate rim glazed with manganese and copper stippling. The technique is identical to one introduced to the Moravian town of Salem in 1773 by the visiting English potter William Ellis and is commonly associated with the English potter Thomas Whieldon, though many others used it. This find therefore implied that the site could not have

been occupied before the 1771-1773 period, when this type of glaze was introduced to North Carolina. Whether the piece was an accidental introduction from Salem or a product of the Mount Shepherd kiln was not immediately apparent.



Figure 4. Two stove tiles from the Mount Shepherd site, in the biscuit state, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (left) and 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (right). The presence of carbon inside the tiles indicates they are from a stove in use at the pottery site. Bivins photograph.

In the summer of 1975, a grant from the North Carolina Bicentennial Commission enabled the Potters Exploration to rehire Outlaw and to conduct an on-site field school. This was done in cooperation with Dr. David McLean of St. Andrews Presbyterian College in Laurinburg, N.C. The three-month operation excavated most of the remainder of the site, uncovering fragmentary architectural foundations but no other kiln related features. However, an outstanding collection of ceramic artifacts was assembled. These included a cylindrical tankard some three inches in diameter — the exterior glazed in a dark iron color, the interior pale yellow — a variety of extruded handles, several complete stove tiles, and a biscuit shard of a negative tile mold. One of the most unusual features was a circular pit situated on the downslope side of the kiln. The pit had been uncovered in 1974, but excavation had been delayed; in 1975 it disclosed what is thought to be a complete kiln load of

wasters. These included both slip decorated plates and utilitarian hollow ware. Some examples of an unusual wide mouthed, two-handled jug form were found, with stubby tapering handles terminating in a hollow thumb print. Evidently, the pit had been filled by the simple process of throwing the ware right out of the kiln loading door into the hole. It is hoped that many of these shards can be completely reconstructed, giving a good indication of the capacity of the kiln.



Figure 5. Bowl and plate shards from the Mount Shepherd site. The bowl shards are in the biscuit state; both plate fragments are from the same piece and are decorated with red and green slip over a white slip wash. The plate diameter was extrapolated to 12". Bivins photograph.

Slip decorated ware included bowls decorated with a "combed" slipware technique as well as a checkerboard pattern. Some plates exhibited polychrome bands on the marly, or rim (Fig. 5), while others combined multicolored baroque flourishes with the familiar "seed-pod" motif. The latter has been called "almost a signature of the Moravian potters in North Carolina."⁴ The cavetto decoration of these plates is unclear but seems to have included various types of floral motifs and at least one tulip design.

Small finds included rose-headed nails, brass buttons, and a

single tiny silver cufflink, engraved with a figure of a running fox and inscribed "TALLY O." A teacup (Fig. 6) was decorated with the mottled "Whieldon" style glaze, again indicating a

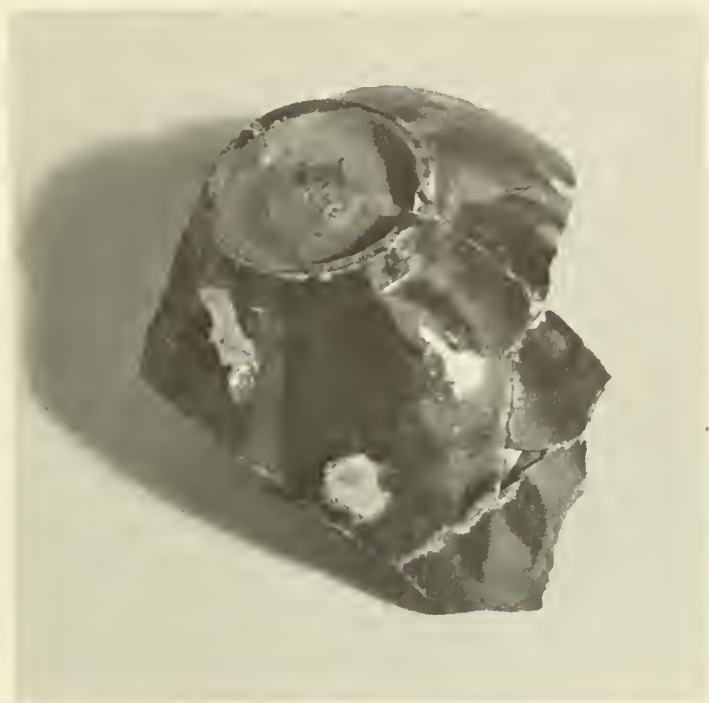


Figure 6. A porcelain-form teacup from the Mount Shepherd site, decorated with underglaze sponging of copper and manganese over a white slip wash. Foot diameter 1 1/4". The foot ring was turned while the cup was in the leather-hard state, following production techniques used by Salem potters. Bivins photograph.

post-1773 date. Two coins were found; one, a well worn George II halfpenny, indicated a post-1760 date, while a Virginia halfpenny indicated a post-1775 date. A shard of creamware (imported after 1770), a fragment of English wine bottle glass, and a penknife rounded out the collection.⁵

With the progress of each successive excavation and the gathering of archaeological material, it became increasingly evident that some relationship existed between the potter working at Mount Shepherd and the various Moravian potters working at Salem and Bethabara. Soon the question was not "whether or not" there was a relationship, but whether the potter was simply responding to the Moravian market, had actually lived and trained in the Moravian community, or both. One 1799 Randolph County estate inventory listed "Moravian ware," so the "name-recognition" value of the Salem wares was great. Consideration of the Mount Shepherd material considerably complicates the problems of attribution of Moravian style pottery. No

Wachovia forms such as teapots, lamps, sugar bowls, or jugs have currently been identified from the Mount Shepherd excavations, but otherwise there is a high correspondence between the varieties of ware produced at both places.



Figure 7. Two anthropomorphic and one fluted pipe head from the Mount Shepherd site, bowl heights 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Bivins photograph.

The reed-stem tobacco pipes (Fig. 7) found at Mount Shepherd are very similar to one type found in the kiln waster dump at Aust's first pottery site in Bethabara. Stanley South titled it the "Anthropomorphic Fluted (with Ear)/Fleur-de-lis on Stem." There are several minor differences between the two pipes, but their common origin seems clear. The explanation for this seems to lie in Pennsylvania, where an unidentified source, probably in the Moravian settlement of Christian Spring, made and sold pipe molds.⁷



Figure 8. Two pipes and their forms of brass (left) and pewter (right) representative of the numerous types produced by potters Aust and Christ. MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-2079.

The decorated ware at Mount Shepherd is also extremely similar to Moravian examples. The "combed" and checkered bowls have similar counterparts in Salem production. In cross-section the Mount Shepherd plates are all but identical (Fig. 9) to the shape of Wachovia plates of the 1755-90 period, with pronounced everted or rolled rim, double booge (back), and foot. Another characteristic of most of the Mount Shepherd plates is a very thin bottom. While the sides of the plate are comparatively thick, the bottom must have been very fragile and liable to break.

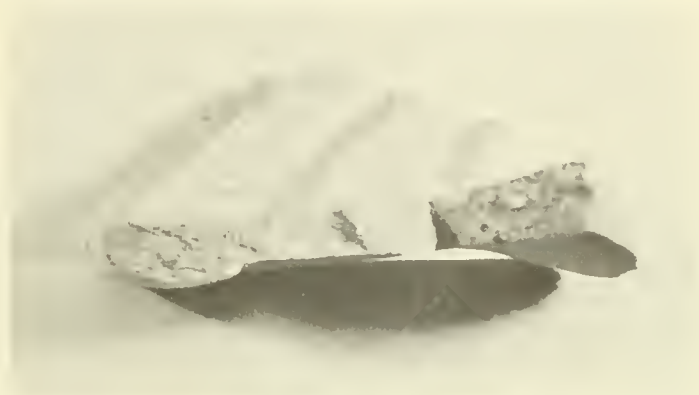


Figure 9. Section of a plate from the Mount Shepherd site, showing the heavy everted rim characteristic of Moravian plates. Bivins photograph.



Figure 10. Slip-decorated plate shards from the Mount Shepherd site, the outer fragments in the biscuit state. The "frond" decoration in green and brown slip on the large center shard follows Aust decorative motifs. Bivins photograph.

As mentioned earlier, the slip decoration of the plates (Fig. 10) is very closely related to Moravian examples (Fig. 11), although no example found represents a duplicate, which would in fact be unusual on such freehanded work. A fragmentary tulip is seen on one of the few cavetto shards from the Mount Shepherd excavation, and can be reconstructed to show a carefully-delineated, yet fluid representation of the flower.



Figure 11. Slip-decorated plate, 1770-1788, attributed to Gottfried Aust, green and red slip over a white slip wash. The flower petals are a light gray, a slip color virtually unknown on American pottery. Diameter 12⁵/₈". MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-1720.

Although none of the published photographs of Moravian slip-decorated plates display tulips resembling the Mount Shepherd example, comparisons of the varying tulip designs might provide an interesting method of distinguishing between the hands of the many Moravian potters, journeymen, and apprentices.

The greatest differences and the least similarities occur in a comparison of the Mount Shepherd and Wachovia stove tiles. The primary similarity is the very existence of the Mount Shepherd tiles, for analysis has indicated that construction and use of ceramic tile stoves was almost completely limited to Moravian settlements in 18th-century America. Furthermore, the format

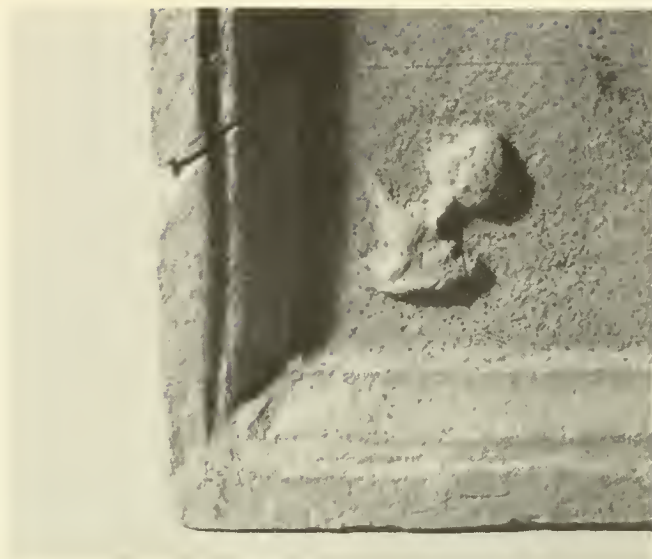


Figure 12. Detail of a four-petaled flower used as corner decoration on a Mount Shepherd stove tile. Bivins photograph.

of the tiles is that of the Wachovia Moravians (square or rectangular frame with corner motifs); the Pennsylvania Brethren seem to have made use of different designs. In fact, the corner motif (Fig. 12) of the Mount Shepherd tiles (a tiny floral design) is identical to that of the Moravian “Spiral Flower” pattern used for the stove in the 1788 Bethabara Gemeinhaus (Figs. 13, 13a). A fragment of rope or cable molding (Fig. 14) found at Mount Shepherd also relates to the Gemeinhaus stove, where it is used to extend the surface area of the lowest row of tiles and increase the size of the firebox. It may have functioned similarly on the Mount Shepherd stove, although, inexplicably, no fragments of bed or cornice-molding were excavated there.

When the Mount Shepherd tiles are examined in cross-section, it is evident that they do not directly copy the form of any Wachovia example. The “Minuteman” tile displays a beaded cavetto molding and the “Dragoon” a simple ogee — neither represented among the Moravian tiles. The Mount Shepherd tiles were almost wholly original artistic conceptions. Good quality impressions of the tiles indicate great subtlety in the original design. Its execution exhibits modeling in deep, clear relief by a craftsman of some experience and assurance.

The primary difference between the Moravian and Mount Shepherd tiles is in subject matter. Moravian tiles depicted floral, geometric, or abstract designs exclusively. More than anything else, the design source of the Mount Shepherd tiles recalls mainstream Pennsylvania-German culture, where this type of



Figure 13. Tile stove, in the biscuit state and blackened with stove polish, attributed to Rudolf Christ; made for the Bethabara Gemein Haus, which was completed in 1788. HOA 63", WOA 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", DOA 46 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-1418.

militaristic motif seems to have been traditional subject matter. The Pennsylvania potter David Spinner produced a complete range of sgraffito plates with comparable treatments. One, titled "Sholder Firelock," depicts two colonial soldiers standing at attention; several versions of an equestrian motif exist. The most striking comparisons to the "Dragoon" tile are several iron stoves of the so-called "German Hunter" pattern, which seem to indicate a strong link between the Mount Shepherd and Pennsylvania motifs.⁸

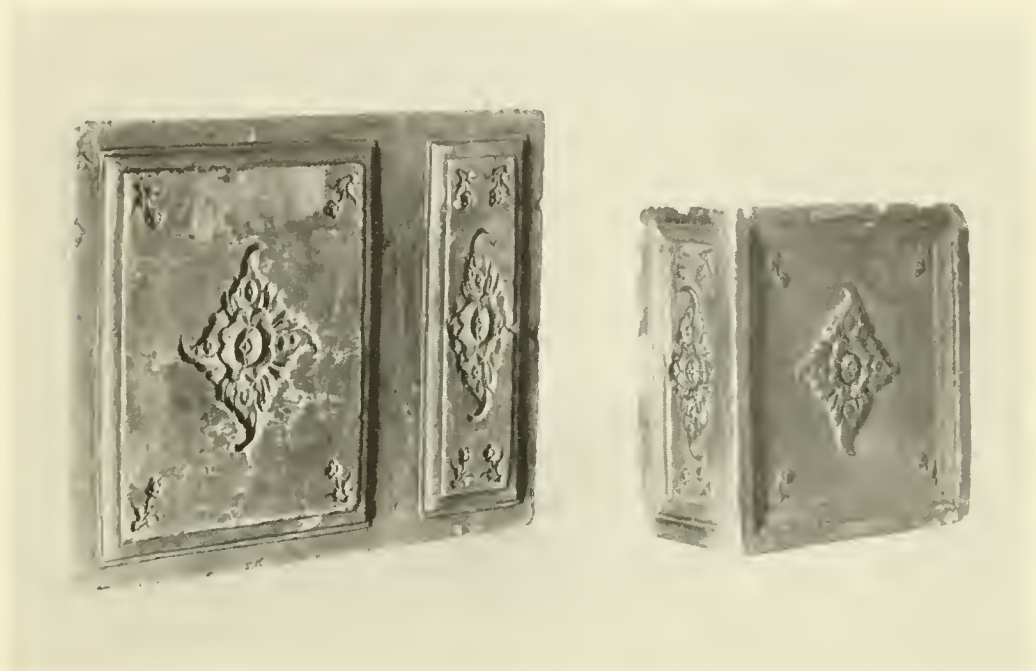


Figure 13a. A biscuit tile mold and a stove tile of the same pattern as that employed on the stove illustrated in Fig. 13. A corner fragment of a similar tile mold was recovered at the Mount Shepherd site. The large face of the tile illustrated is 7¼" x 8⅝". MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-2083.



Figure 14. A fragment of cable-molded stove base tile from the Mount Shepherd site; the cabling closely duplicates the same detail on the stove illustrated in Fig. 13. 2¼" x 4½". Bivins photograph.

The Mount Shepherd kiln itself stands as perhaps the most unusual discovery; material for an adequate structural comparison just does not exist. Very few kilns have been excavated in the United States, and few of those exhibit similar characteristics. As excavated, the kiln consists of an unmortared brick flue system (Fig. 2) roughly nine feet in diameter, preserved to an average height of about one foot. The five 9½" wide flue channels radiate from a common center; all flues terminate in oval ash pits. One flue on the southwest was blocked up at some time by the potter, perhaps to improve heat distribution inside the firing chamber. The kiln walls are of slate, averaging two feet in thickness and mortared together with waster-tempered clay. The existing walls seem to taper slightly toward the center, indicating that it was of a "bee-hive" or "bottle"⁹ design. The rough stone exterior of the kiln was probably stuccoed with clay, as large chunks were found exhibiting baked-in palm prints.

Little work has been done to reconstruct the kiln, although adequate material seems available. One expert on kiln construction suggests that "As a rule of thumb, each foot of horizontal flue must be compensated for by two additional feet of chimney."¹⁰ This could indicate that the kiln, nine feet in diameter, was as much as eighteen feet in height. A close parallel to the Mount Shepherd kiln was the Jessiah Diehl kiln near Quakertown, Pennsylvania, the plan of which was published in 1972. It is an updraft "beehive" kiln built of fieldstone, lined with brick, and reinforced with iron bands.¹¹

Very little is known about North Carolina Moravian kilns. Aust's kilns both in Bethabara and Salem were built inside a small frame addition to the potter's shop. Although this situation was a never ending source of worry to the town's managing board, no diarist ever managed to describe the kiln when complaining about it in the records. A kiln has been found and excavated at Bethabara; however, it is a later kiln, in use by the Butner family of potters as late as 1870.¹² It therefore seems dangerous to relate that kiln, a "rectangular" type, to the practices of the 18th-century Moravian potters.

Coincidence, industrial espionage, apprenticeship — what was the relationship between the Mount Shepherd potter and the Moravian community? Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence is the following: In the spring of 1788, an ailing Gottfried Aust journeyed to Pennsylvania for medical treatment. In his absence, the Salem Aufseher Collegium directed that "to

prevent confusion, the price of each piece of pottery shall be burnt in . . .”¹³ This is the first recorded mention of a practice that Aust seems to have followed previously; he had developed a standard price for each piece of pottery which was keyed to a



Figure 15. Reverse view of a slip-decorated plate attributed to Gottfried Aust, showing the potter's price marking. Utilitarian ware was generally marked in Roman numerals. MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-1777.

Roman numeral code scratched on the bottom of each pot (Fig. 15). Aust's apprentice, Christ, adopted a similar code. The point of this digression is that Mount Shepherd hollow ware also has a price code marked on its bottom — in Roman numerals (Fig. 16). More than anything else, this fact suggested that the Mount Shepherd potter's background included a working relationship — either as apprentice or journeyman — in the shop of Gottfried Aust. Negative evidence suggests that the Mount Shepherd potter had little or no professional contact with Wachovia after Aust's death in 1788. Christ introduced both faience and stoneware in Salem during the 1790s; neither appears at the Randolph County site, nor do press-molded animal bottles, introduced in Salem about 1800. The rough chronological boundaries of activity at the Mount Shepherd site, considering all evidence, are these: established after ca. 1775; abandoned before ca. 1800.

Just who was the Mount Shepherd potter? If he was one of the Randolph County English potters, then it would be surpris-



Figure 16. Cream-pot shards from the Mount Shepherd site, showing price markings; in the biscuit state. Bivins photograph.

ing to find such close links to the Moravians in his work. Although it would not have been impossible for an outsider to have worked in Aust's pottery, it would have been unusual.¹⁴ If, on the other hand, he was a Moravian apprentice, then how did he stray so far from home? Although Moravians did live on the periphery of the Wachovia tract, they were primarily farmers who retained an active tie to the church.

The militaristic motifs of the stove tiles are also not in keeping with the Moravian position against bearing arms. During the Revolution the Salem diarist cautioned that "the guns which are in town should not hang in sight, since we have conscientious scruples against bearing arms."¹⁵ It does not seem likely that a Moravian would design a tile featuring a soldier with his musket.

An archaeological summary of the evidence found, then, suggests the following:

1. The pottery was active at sometime during the last quarter of the 18th century.
2. The potter was a skilled master of the Moravian forms; an outsider catering to the popular market could not have

assimilated the style so completely. Stylistically, he seems to have been an apprentice or journeyman in the shop of Gottfried Aust.

3. His familiarity with the “*Wachovia vernacular*” indicates that the potter had his closest ties to the North Carolina area, but some of his design motifs indicate possible links to the Pennsylvania-German community.
4. If the potter was a former Moravian apprentice, then he had left the Moravian community, either by choice or by circumstance.

The focus of historical inquiry into the Mount Shepherd pottery, then, was an effort to connect a name to the plot of land on which it lay. The initial procedure employed was to trace the deed to the property from present owner to past owner to original owner. An Asheboro lawyer’s cursory deed search indicated that the late 18th-century property owner had been a Henry Yount. Local historians disagreed, however, as the Younts, according to oral tradition, lived on the east side of the mountains, not on the Uwharrie but on Caraway Creek.

This confusion obviously arose from the fact that the present camp at the site was originally comprised of many smaller tracts of land. For the purpose of this study, only with the discovery of the owner of the exact spot where the pottery site stood could we consider our search successful. The only reliable way to accomplish this task was to plot out the deeded legal boundaries of all the adjoining tracts of land and to assemble all these small plats together into one large plat map (Fig. 21). Then, to demonstrably locate the site on a particular tract, the plat map had to be related to a modern geodetic survey map by some known benchmarks. Since 18th-century surveyors often used watercourses as reference points, identifiable rivers or streams provided legitimate reference points.

Although such land research might seem like piecing together a giant jigsaw puzzle, the process is actually a great deal more complicated. Many 18th-century deeds are maddeningly incorrect, or incomplete. Tracts of land must be traced through three successive counties as boundaries change. Land granted by the state was always recorded in the Secretary of State’s office, but the proud grantee often failed to register his deed in an effort to escape taxes. Outrageously vague landmarks sometimes defied relation to adjoining properties, to geographical landmarks, or to common sense.

Over the course of several years' research, a map of 18th-century property owners in the Uwharrie River section of Randolph County began to take shape. The first land taken up by settlers was always productive river bottomland, so the map slowly spread from watercourses toward the less fertile, and last claimed, mountainous land. The final map was plotted at a scale of one inch equal to 100 poles, or 1,650 feet (approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ mile). It is keyed to the Rudolph Waymire tract fronting on the Uwharrie; the possibility of error increases with the distance from that reference point. As far east as Caraway Creek, the maximum possible error may be as much as 410 feet.



Figure 17. Bowl rim sections from the Mount Shepherd site. Bivins photograph.

The pottery site at the western foot of Shepherd Mountain (Fig. 21) can now be seen to lie almost in the center of a 100-acre tract originally granted by the State of North Carolina in 1793. The location of the site within this tract can be accepted with a great degree of confidence, as even the maximum mapping error does not push the site outside of its legal boundaries. Could the 1793 grantee, the first original owner of the site, be our unknown potter? Do the characteristics we have generated by archaeological analysis apply to this man? To resolve these questions entailed still more historical research: an investigation into the background of the grantee, who was listed as Jacob Myers.

Myers is mentioned in eight presently-known Randolph County records, bracketing the period of his confirmed presence in the county from October 1793, to November, 1799. The ma-

jority of these are land grant records in the office of the North Carolina Secretary of State. Myers does not appear in Randolph County deed books, for he never seems to have registered his land. Several types of property records remain, even so. The land grant process had five basic steps. A claim to a tract of vacant land would be “entered” with the county’s Land Entry Officer. Myers seemed to have come by the property at third hand, for two previous claimants had previously sold off their interest in the land. The exact date Myers bought the entry is unknown.¹⁶ After the claim was established, a warrant for survey was sent from the Entry Officer to the County Surveyor. The County Surveyor would then arrive and survey the tract of land in company with the claimant and interested neighbors. The County Surveyor then drew up a survey plat of the land for state records. The survey plat for the Jacob Myers claim was drawn up October 18, 1793.¹⁷ This is the earliest date which Myers can positively be said to be living on the property, although he may have been established there for some time. On receipt of the survey plat, the state would draw up and issue a land grant to the claimant, which he was then required to record with the county Register of Deeds. It is unknown if and when Myers completed this process.



Figure 18. Bowl fragment from the Aust pottery site, Bethabara, 1756-1771, glazed inside with a brown iron-oxide glaze. MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-1964.

During the survey process Myers must have found additional vacant land adjoining his claim, for three days later, on October 21, he filed a second claim for 100 acres adjoining his former entry.¹⁸ In January, 1795, two of Myers' neighbors entered claims of vacant land and listed Jacob Myers as an adjoining property owner.¹⁹ In March, 1796, the County Surveyor arrived to survey Myers' second entry, but Myers transferred the warrant "for value received," to a *Samuel* Myers.²⁰ The 100 acres of land was accordingly surveyed and granted to Samuel Myers.²¹ At the time the entry was found, the relationship between the two Myers was open to question. Beyond the similarity of their names, the "value received" terms of the deed implied a family relationship, possibly brother-to-brother or cousin-to-cousin, Samuel Myers appears in the county at least by the date of his survey plat, March 30, 1796. He next appears in local records in the November term of court, 1797, when he was sued for £ 2. 1. 1. by William Lee, a merchant.²² Myers did not appear in court, so it was ordered that his property be sold to pay the debt. This was done in February, 1798, when the Samuel Myers land was sold by the Randolph County sheriff.²³ Samuel Myers, possible relative of Jacob, thus appears in Randolph County in March, 1796, and seems to have departed before November, 1797. He appears in no other records.

Jacob Myers appears on an undated Randolph County tax list which the author assigns to either 1798 or 1799 — probably 1798. Myers is not listed as a landowner, either because he had not yet received his offered grant, or because he had not registered the grant to escape taxation.²⁴

Myers' final appearance in the county records is on November 22, 1799, when he and a neighbor, William Dickey, were sued for an unspecified debt by "Henderson, Burton & Co." Myers was present at the time, for he was actually jailed for debt. Another neighbor, Philbert Wright, paid both bail and court costs. The case was continued without judgment.²⁵ By February, 1802, the debt seems to have been transferred from Henderson and Burton to a local merchant, Alexander Gray. At that time William Dickey was again jailed for a £ 41 debt remaining from 1799.²⁶ Jacob Myers is not mentioned, indicating his death or disappearance sometime between November, 1799, and February, 1802. Myers does not appear on any North Carolina census for 1800.

No Randolph County records can be found calling Jacob

Myers a potter; however, they do pinpoint his term of residence in the county. He presumably arrived some time after the census of 1790, yet before October, 1793, and evidently died or left the county between November, 1799, and February, 1802. This is compatible with the activity period revealed by the archaeological evidence, 1775-1800. The single item of a personal nature indicated by land records is that Jacob was probably related to a Samuel Myers.

In view of the exhaustion of the meager Randolph County records and recalling the relationship to the Moravian community populated by the archaeological evidence, attention was directed toward research in Moravian records. Was there some Salem or Bethabara journeyman or apprentice named "Jacob Myers" who was known to have worked in the shop of Gottfried Aust? If so, could he have been a resident of Salem when he was not present in Randolph, and vice versa? And, most important, was he related to someone named Samuel? As a matter of fact, there was a Salem apprentice who filled the requirements exactly: Philip Jacob Meyer.

Philip Jacob Meyer, also called Jacob Meyer, Jr., was born October 25, 1771, in Bethabara, where his father, Jacob Meyer, Sr., was tavernkeeper.²⁷ Three months later the Meyers were transferred to the new Salem Tavern, where their second son, Samuel, was born October 10, 1775.²⁸ Meyer, Sr., was a moody, ineffectual man, given to spells of self-doubt and brooding introspection. He was frequently reprovved by the Collegium for his inability to prevent members of the congregation from enjoying the amusements of the tavern. As the center for the activities of "strangers" in Salem, the management of the tavern would have been a difficult assignment for anyone, and the uncertainty of the Revolutionary period intensified the situation. In 1776, four drunken men armed with guns, clubs and tomahawks attacked and wounded the Meyers at the tavern during a rampage through Salem. After the attack, Meyer became more and more incapable of dealing with his duties.²⁹

Meyer's chief responsibility, and greatest difficulty, lay in tending the tavern's bar. In 1778, Meyer was brought before the Aufseher Collegium to answer charges that his own young children had taken to drink. The committee issued Meyer a forceful warning that "it should not happen again . . . that his children are making themselves drunk with wine and other strong drinks, because it has such a bad influence on their body

as well as on their soul.” Meyer abjectly begged forgiveness of the authorities, confessing that “he did not know how he should educate his children in the right fashion.”³⁰ In 1782, Meyer and his family barely escaped the fire which totally destroyed the tavern. The effect of this environment on Jacob, Samuel, and their sisters can be imagined. Jacob, Jr. later admitted to the Collegium that he had “had a very bad childhood . . .”³¹

In January, 1786, Jacob, Jr. was apprenticed to Gottfried Aust to learn the “pottery trade.”³² Meyer, Sr. does not seem to have approved of the situation, for he frequently complained of the “lack of supervision” from Br. Aust.³³ This did not endear Meyer to Aust, who responded with complaints of “difficulties with the son of Mr. Meyer who is his apprentice.”³⁴

In April, 1788, Aust left for Philadelphia to “be cured of a cancerous sore.” In his absence, the pottery was to be run by apprentices Franz Stauber and Jacob Meyer.³⁵ With Aust’s departure and subsequent death, Jacob Meyer, Jr. began to figure prominently in Salem activities. “Since the last meeting of the Collegium several bad pranks have been played again. Several Brothers think that Jacob Meyer has a part in them, because of one very bad utterance which he made and because of the fact that he has been involved in several bad things already . . .”³⁶ Nor was the 17-year-old Meyer completely



Figure 19. Cream pots excavated at the Mount Shepherd site, glazed inside with clear and brown iron-oxide glazes. HOA 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", diameter at rim 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " (left); HOA 7", diameter at rim 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (right). Bivins photograph.

successful in running the pottery. In December, 1788, it was noted that “At the occasion of the last burning of pottery in the shop, Jacob Meyer heated the kiln too much so that most of the pottery is crooked.”³⁷ When Rudolf Christ arrived in January,



Figure 20. Cream pots from the Aust and Christ pottery sites in Bethabara, 1756-1771 (left) and 1786-1789 (right), glazed inside with brown iron-oxide glazes. HOA 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " (left) and 5 $\frac{5}{16}$ " (right). MESDA/Old Salem, Inc. research file S-1967.

1789, to take over the Salem pottery, it was suggested that Meyer's indenture be transferred to Br. Christ. Meyer, however, displayed a high regard for his own abilities by objecting to the indenture, and insisting on "conditions."³⁸ Meyer was again censured by the Collegium at this time: "Jacob Meyer has bought new clothing which, for an apprentice, is absolutely unfitting . . ."³⁹

In June, 1789, the Salem authorities decided that Meyer was such an incorrigible problem that he should be asked to leave town. "Phillip Jacob Meyer . . . is not yet old enough to leave the community, though it would be well not to keep him because it is better for such people, who do not want to stay in the community, to go before they influence others."⁴⁰ Meyer seemed willing to accept banishment, the Moravians' strictest social sanction, even though it entailed a complete separation from the church and relegated the subject to the status of a "stranger." Life in the tavern seems to have inspired Meyer with wanderlust, for he immediately set out on a trip to New Bern.⁴¹ Several weeks later, he stopped in for quick visits at Salem and Bethabara, then set out for Pennsylvania.⁴²

In November, 1789, Meyer returned from Virginia and joined the Bethabara household of his brother-in-law, Gottlob Krause.⁴³ Krause, a former Aust apprentice, working as a brick-mason and potter, probably offered Meyer the opportunity for journeyman work in his new pottery shop. Meyer may have had a great responsibility for running the Krause pottery, since Krause's services as master mason were much in demand in Salem at the time.

On March 27, 1791, Meyer married Susannah Hilsebeck, probably in Bethania.⁴⁴ The Hilsebeck family was almost certainly not Moravian, but rather Dunker, as was Meyer's best man, Frederick Shouse.⁴⁵ ("Dunker" is the common name for German Baptist Brethren.) In January, 1792, Meyer's only child (a son, Heinrich/Henry) was born in Bethania.⁴⁶ Jacob Meyer, Jr. does not appear in the Moravian records until his death at Bethabara, September 22, 1801.⁴⁷ Meyer's wife seems to have died during the interregnum; in December, 1801, the Stokes County court ordered that "Henry Myars, orphan" be bound to Isaac Boner, his uncle by marriage, to learn the trade of a hatter.⁴⁸

Samuel Meyer seems to have led a relatively turbulent existence similar to that of his brother. In February, 1789, he was apprenticed to the Salem tanner, Br. Yarrel.⁴⁹ In September, 1793, he was accepted into the choir of Single Brethren.⁵⁰ Soon after, however, he seems to have fallen off the narrow path. By April, 1794, his behavior was scandalizing the community. "We do not see any improvement in the way of life of Sam. Meyer; on the contrary it becomes worse all the time. It was reported that on Easter he was [wandering] with strange women through the community and drank with them in the night. Hauser from the Stillhouse was also in his company, where they have been drinking together."⁵¹

This behavior in addition to an unrepentent attitude almost led the Collegium to banish Samuel in late April.⁵² In May, however, he apologized, "and asked for our patience."⁵³ He was put on probation, but by July he was in trouble again. He had been asked to turn over his rifle to the Collegium because his "shooting hobby" gave him "opportunity to behave violently."⁵⁴ Not only did Meyer refuse to give up his rifle, "but he [had] also said, with bad expressions, that he [was] going shooting with it whenever he likes."⁵⁵

In November, 1794, Samuel Meyer was also asked to leave .

Salem. He had been “tolerated up to now in the community under the one condition that he might stay as long as his behavior is good. We have heard anew that he is taking up with unpermitted relationship to women, and Br. Yarrel was asked to dismiss him as soon as possible . . .”⁵⁶ Br. Yarrell, however, was not happy to let Samuel go and asked him to come back to work at the tannery. The Collegium quickly squelched this plan.⁵⁷ Sometime in 1796 Meyer married Elizabeth Jones, though the date and place of the event are unknown.⁵⁸ In March, 1797, Meyer returned to Salem and tried to gain permission to work for Br. Yarrel during the summer. The Collegium strongly disapproved.⁵⁹ Yarrel seems to have ignored the wishes of the Collegium, however; in September he was rebuked for allowing Meyer to work for him.⁶⁰ Samuel soon moved to the Friedburg settlement south of Salem, where the birth of the first of his seven children was recorded in 1799. Meyer drifted from job to job, perhaps a victim of alcoholism. He died in Bethania on March 12, 1811, leaving his family in poverty.⁶¹

Jacob Meyer, Sr. died in 1800, his final years aggravated by dropsy and the sad plight of his family. All but one of his four children “had fallen away from the strict ways in which they had been reared. Their loss seemed greatly to magnify his other griefs. At times he was inconsolable, sobbing convulsively over his failure to keep them faithful to the church, ‘begging and pleading to the Savior that he would have mercy on them . . .’” . . . Evidently neither of Meyer’s sons visited his sickbed. His neighbors noted sympathetically that “It aroused the deepest compassion to see him in his weak old age weeping so bitterly because of them.”⁶²

Though we cannot state unequivocally that the Mount Shepherd potter was the former Aust apprentice, Jacob Meyer, there is an extremely high probability that this is the case. When the documentary records of Randolph County and the Moravian Archives are compared, the two are found to be complementary, not contradictory. Neither Jacob nor Samuel “Meyer” can be found in Wachovia when Jacob and Samuel “Myers” are present in Randolph County. But the question that must then be answered is, why would an ex-Moravian have moved to Randolph County from Salem? Wasn’t the population there mainly English?

This confusion is due to a misinterpretation of local history, both that of Randolph County and Piedmont North Carolina as

a whole. It must be realized that the Moravians in 18th-century North Carolina were one German religious group of several. The North Carolina backcountry sheltered representatives of virtually every Pennsylvania-German church; this was especially true of what is now northwestern Randolph and eastern Davidson county. Existing *fraktur* birth and baptismal certificates call attention to the Lutheran and Reformed congregations of Davidson,⁶³ but the groups in the Uwharrie River/Shepherd's Mountain area left fewer records of their existence.

The region was brought to the attention of white settlers at least as early as 1701 when the explorer John Lawson contacted the local Keyauwee Indians. Their palisaded village was located near the ford of the Great Trading Path across Caraway Creek.⁶⁴ The Great Trading Path, or "Occaneechi Trail," was the major prehistoric highway in North Carolina. It ran diagonally across the state from Virginia to South Carolina, and was the most important colonial migration route before the opening of the Great Wagon Road. August Spangenberg and his party of Moravians had used the Trading Path to enter the backcountry on their 1752 surveying expedition to Wachovia. In October Spangenberg's party stayed at "Rich's on Caraway" and noted an account with "Joh. Rich, tavern keeper."⁶⁵ This tavern and trading post (Fig. 21), also known as "Ridge's Place,"⁶⁶ was located near the site of the earlier Keyauwee village. The Mount Shepherd site, less than a mile from the site of the Trading Post, was situated on the so-called "Ridge Road" which ran north from the Trading Path⁶⁷ to intersect the upper "Road to Cape Fear," the highway from Salem to Cross Creek (Fayetteville). German settlers from Pennsylvania and Maryland had begun to filter into the area by 1760, buying property from land speculator Henry McCulloh and his son Henry Eustace. The McCullohs had advertised their 100,000 acre tract in the area as "the Rich lands of the Uwharrie," and its charms had attracted hordes of settlers by the time of the Revolution. In 1772, the Baptist historian Morgan Edwards wrote of the Uwharrie Congregation of Dunkers or German Baptists, the largest of the three North Carolina Dunker congregations.⁶⁸ The area was visited several times in the early 1770s by the Moravian missionary, George Söelle, who described a teeming multitude of competitive German Sectarians.⁶⁹

Although differing in relatively minor religious points, many German churches practiced some form of world renounci-

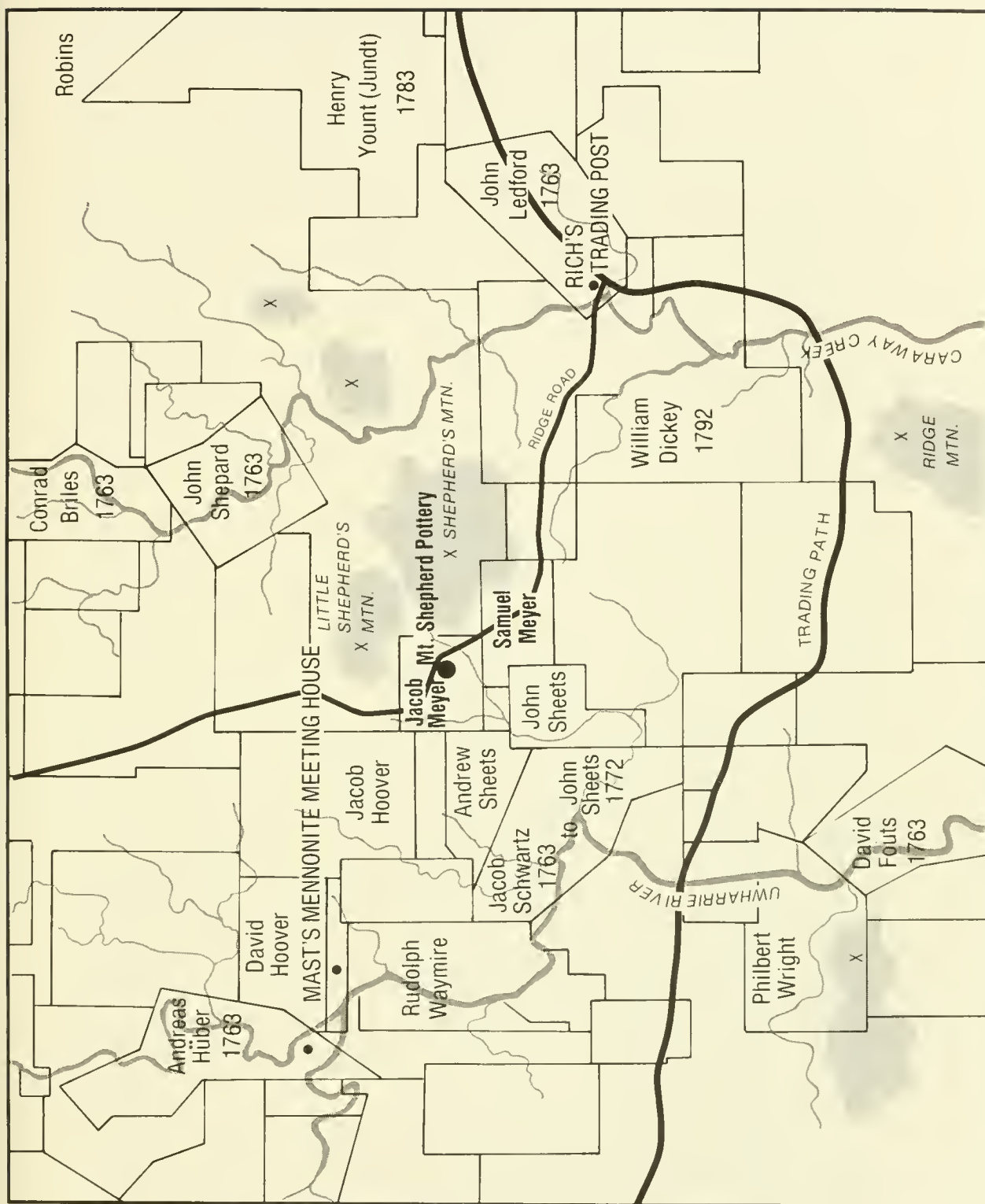


Figure 21. A plat map of the Mount Shepherd section of Randolph County, showing the pottery site and location of most of the landowners of the immediate area, including the Trading Path. The manuscript of the map was prepared by the author, based upon measured plats in land records. Artwork by Jim Stanley.

ation in an effort to preserve moral and ethical purity. For Moravians, it was to eschew “worldly” dress and ostentatious living. For Dunkers, it took the form of an aversion to formal education and organized politics, thought to be incompatible with a philosophy of “primitive” Christianity. Dunkers, like Mennonites, refused to take oaths of any kind and were therefore unable to engage in lawsuits. This left the Uwharrie Dunkers vulnerable to exploitation during and after the Revolution, when many members lost their property to predatory speculators. Although they had scrupulously refrained from participating on either side of the conflict, the pacifistic sectarians were accused of siding with the Tories, and steps were taken to confiscate their lands. Those who denied religious scruples to exercise their legal rights of possession saved their land; those who did not lost it and began to move west. By 1807, the Dunkers were all but gone from the Uwharrie.⁷⁰

Salem’s Philip Jacob Meyer seems to have had ties to the Dunker families living in Wachovia. Both his wife and marriage bondsman were residents of the Bethania vicinity north of Salem, and the likelihood is that both were Dunkers.⁷¹ And it is interesting that the Jacob “Stuchman,” or Stutzman, who entered a tract of land adjoining Meyer in 1795, was the religious leader of the Uwharrie Dunker congregation.⁷² In view of these ties to the German Baptists, perhaps it is much less surprising to conceive of Meyer’s opening a pottery operation in Randolph County. Samuel Meyer may have intended to set up his own tannery next to his brother. Alcoholism, combined with his own fractious personality, probably led him into debt and sent him back to the safety of Wachovia. The probable death of his wife, combined with his own financial difficulties, may have caused Jacob to return to Bethabara. His early death⁷³ soon thereafter could have been related to lead poisoning from his work with glazes; Gottfried Aust’s own son died of that malady.

The weight of evidence compounded during this analysis has been brought together to support the author’s near-certainty that the heretofore unknown potter working at the Mount Shepherd site was the former Moravian apprentice, Philip Jacob Meyer. The most important implications of this identification are to the study of Moravian ceramics and an understanding of at least the final years of Gottfried Aust.

One month after Meyer was apprenticed to Aust, Rudolf Christ left the Salem pottery for his own Bethabara operation.

Meyer left Salem just two months after Christ returned to take over that pottery.⁷⁴ Aust, then, not Christ, was likely the formative influence on Meyer. The formative influence upon Gottlob Krause had been from Aust as well, although Krause and Christ had been apprentices together; Meyer almost certainly worked for Krause in Bethabara as a journeyman potter. Meyer left the Moravian community and was isolated at least from 1793 to 1799. This was the period in which Christ introduced faience, stoneware and press molded bottles into the Salem production, diverging significantly from Aust's former production.

It therefore seems a logical conclusion that Jacob Meyer's work habits and practices, as well as his ceramic output as exemplified by the Mount Shepherd archaeological evidence, most closely resembled that of Gottfried Aust and Gottlob Krause instead of the divergent Christ production. It can also be expected that Mount Shepherd ware should bear similarities to 18th-century specimens excavated at the Krause workshop site in Bethabara, since Meyer worked at both places. Most importantly, the Mount Shepherd kiln should be closely related (if not identical) to those used by Aust and Krause in Salem and Bethabara. It is not known what alterations or variant kiln designs Christ may have introduced during the 1790s. Whatever they were, it can be expected that Christ passed these improvements or variations along to his own apprentices, such as John Butner.

In the final analysis, an effort to preserve the distinctions between the Moravian potters and the traditional piedmont North Carolina potters is not without validity. Jacob Meyer, although trained in the "Wachovia vernacular," established a geographical distance between himself and his antecedents which reflected the philosophical and religious schism between himself and the Moravians. Elements illustrating this new stylistic freedom established themselves in products such as his stove tiles.

Meyer's mild divergence from the mainstream of pottery design in Wachovia underscores the importance of understanding the stylistic development in the work of potters who had left large establishments to set up on their own. Many contemporaries of Meyer who had been Aust and Christ apprentices, in fact, operated potteries on the fringes of Wachovia and even outside the Moravian settlement. A good sample of the work of some of these men still exists in the collection of Old Salem, Incorporated and in private hands.

Due to the increasing illness of Gottfried Aust, it is apparent that pottery production declined in Salem during the 1780s, though during the 1790s and through the first quarter of the 19th-century redware production increased through the vigorous efforts of Rudolf Christ. During the early 1800s, however, the growing population of piedmont North Carolina began to support an increasing number of new potteries, and the market for Moravian wares thereby narrowed considerably.⁷⁵ Although Rudolf Christ had produced salt-glazed stoneware for a brief period, this ware apparently never assumed any great importance in Salem. Nineteenth-century preference for that sturdier ware for utilitarian purposes, however, gave emphasis to the work of other potteries around the state and effectively broke the near-monopoly the Moravians had held in earthenware production in North Carolina during the 18th-century.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Kelly, J. H., "Report on the Mount Shepherd Pottery Site, Randolph County, North Carolina," typescript dated October, 1971.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Outlaw, Alain C., "Preliminary Excavations at the Mount Shepherd Pottery Site," *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*. 1974. Vol. 9, pp. 2-12.
4. Bivins, John, *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 236.
5. Outlaw, Alain C., "Mount Shepherd Pottery Site National Register Nomination," typescript, Sept. 1979.
6. Outlaw, "Preliminary Excavations," *op. cit.*, p. 4.
7. Gottlob Krause intermittently became bored with the mason's trade and wished to return to potting. In 1788, he was reprimanded for his "intention . . . to make pipe heads, for which he has already ordered forms from Christiansbrunn [Christian Spring]." *Minutes of the Aufseher Collegium* (hereinafter cited as AC), 10 June 1788; Moravian Archives, Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, N.C., hereinafter cited as Moravian Archives, Southern Province. All AC translations cited in this work were prepared by Erika Huber.
8. Whatley, L. McKay, "Moravian Tile Stoves of the American Colonial Period," B.A. Thesis submitted to the Dept. of Fine Arts, Harvard College, April 1977.

9. Outlaw, "Preliminary Excavations," *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.
10. Rhodes, Daniel, *Kilns: Design, Construction, and Operation*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1968).
11. Powell, Elizabeth A., *Pennsylvania Pottery, Tools and Processes*. (Doylestown, Pa.: The Bucks County Historical Society, 1972), p. 16 & 17.
12. Clauser, John W., "The Excavation of the Bethabara Pottery Kiln: An Analysis of Nineteenth Century Potting Techniques," Master's Thesis submitted to the University of Florida, 1978.
13. AC, April 15, 1788; Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
14. "A number of craftsmen in other trades who are known to have been associated with Salem masters . . . were left unmentioned in the records, in some cases because the apprentice was a non-Moravian and technically was not supposed to be trained in the community." (Bivins, *Moravian Potters*, p. 64.)
15. Bivins, John, Jr., *Longrifles of North Carolina*. (York, Pa., George Shumway Publishers, 1968), p. 41.
16. Randolph Co. *Land Entry Book #2*, Miscellaneous Papers, Randolph Co. Clerk of Court's Office, Asheboro, N.C. "No. 453 — to be issued to Jacob Mires — John Lacy enters 100 acres lying on Uwharrie, on South side Shepherd's Mountain, August 4, 1790.
Transferred to John Sheets.
Transferred to Jacob Mires."
17. No. 453, 100 acres entered by Jacob Myers, surveyed October 18, 1793, by William Lowe. Original in the files of the North Carolina Secretary of State, Land Grant Office, Raleigh, N.C.
18. No. 289, "Notice of survey authorization by Entry Officer," dated Jan. 20, 1794. 100 acres entered Oct. 21, 1793, by Jacob Myers, "Beginning at a pine on his own line." Original in Land Grant Office files.
19. January 20, 1795: Jacob Hoover enters 100 acres "between David Hoover and Jacob Myers" (No. 10). January 26, 1795: Jacob Stuchman enters 100 acres "joining Rudolph Wamire, Andrew Sheets, Jacob Hoover and Jacob Myers." (No. 11). *Land Entry Book #3*. Miscellaneous Papers, Randolph Co. Clerk of Court Office, Asheboro, N.C.
20. Endorsement on verso of survey plat No. 289, "I do assign over all my Right and Claim of the Within Land Warrant of one hundred acres to Samuel Myers for Value Received." Dated March 12, 1796, signed "Jacob Myers (Seal)." Original in Land Grant Office files.
21. No. 289, 100 acres adjoining Jacob Myers, surveyed for Samuel Myers March 30, 1796 by William Lowe. Original in Land Grant Office files. Grant recorded Feb. 1800, in *Deed Book 8*, page 136, Randolph County Register of Deeds Office, Asheboro, N.C.
22. "Case #3. William Lee vs. Samuel Myers. Justices Judgement & Execution £ 2. 1. 1. and court costs 8/. Executed on 100 acres of land joining William Boyd, John Sheets and Jacob Myers. On Motion the court ordered the land sold Agreeable to Law & c. (Order Issued)." *Appearance Docket*, Randolph County Court Records, Nov. term 1797 (N.C. State Archives, Raleigh).

23. “. . . pursuant to an order of the county court . . . commanding the sheriff to sell the land of Samuel Myres; Executed by a Constable to satisfy a judgement and Execution obtained by William Lee before a justice of the peace for the sum of £2 1sh. 1d. to be paid before the 3rd. Monday in February 1798 . . .” Recorded in *Deed Book* 8, page 20; Deed from Simeon Geren, High Sheriff of Randolph County to Jonathan Justice, August 20, 1798. Randolph Co. Register of Deeds Office, Asheboro, N.C.
24. “A List of Capt. Wray’s District,” undated manuscript, N.C. State Archives, Raleigh. The list is either the missing 1798 or 1799 tax list for the Uwharrie River/Shepherd’s Mountain area. Since the statistics are lower than the existing 1799 totals, the author assigns the list to 1798.
25. “Case #2. Henderson, Burton & Co. (vs.) Jacob Myers and Wm. Dickey. Executed. Bail — Philbert Wright. This suit directed to continue, as it now stands. See plaintiffs’ letter. Philbert Wright promises to pay the costs next court. Clerk . . . 14/, tax . . . 5/, sheriff . . . 14/8. Paid at February term 1800.” *Appearance Docket*, Randolph County Court Records, Nov. term 1799. (N.C. State Archives, Raleigh).
26. “Case #5. Alexander Gray & Co. vs. William Dickey — Debt. Executed. Bail — Richard Miller. Judgement confessed by the defendant in p. p. for £ 41.3 with interest from the 22nd day of Nov. 1799 until paid and costs. Stay execution 6 months.” *Appearance Docket*, Randolph County Court Records, Feb. Term 1802. (N.C. State Archives, Raleigh).
27. *Bethabara Church Book*, 25 October 1771; Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
28. Fries, Adelaide, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission), vol. 7, p. 3133. Hereinafter cited as Fries, *Records of the Moravians*.
29. James, Hunter, “A Tavern in the Town,” *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek*, Vol. IV, 1977 (Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, N.C.) p. 39.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
31. AC, 9 June 1789, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
32. AC, 17 Jan. 1786, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
33. “Concerning Jacob Meyer’s work in the pottery, it has to be said that his father does not like to have him there, and we are very sorry that so little supervision is in the pottery.” AC, 30 May 1786, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
34. *Ibid.*, 6 Feb. 1787.
35. *Ibid.*, 3 April 1788.
36. *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1788.
37. *Ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1788.
38. Bivins, *Moravian Potters*, p. 63.
39. AC, 3 March 1789, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
40. *Ibid.*, 9 June 1789.
41. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, Vol. 5, p. 2284.
42. *Ibid.*

43. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, Vol. 5, p. 2286. *When Meyer visited his parents in Salem two days before, he and a companion had been asked to leave town "because their bad company can do more harm than real strangers."* (AC, 3 Nov. 1789).
44. Stokes County *Marriage Bonds*, N.C. State Archives, Raleigh. It should be noted that Salem's "Philip Jacob Meyer" or "Jacob Meyers, Jr." here signed his name "Jacob Myers." The spelling "Jacob Mires" in the bond is that of a court official. Eighteenth-century orthography adds an additional dimension of complexity to a search. Jacob's father was universally referred to in Moravian records as "Jacob Meyer," yet his will spells his name three different ways, and his signature reads "Jacob Mayer."
45. Friedrich Hilsebeck, probably the father of Susannah, "formerly belonged to [the Moravian Church], but a number of years ago severed his connection with us." Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, Vol. 6, p. 2635.
46. Bethania Church Book, 13 Jan. 1792; Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
47. *Dobbs Parish Graveyard Records*, Moravian Archives, Southern Province. The Dobbs Parish or "stranger's" graveyard where Meyer was buried is located near Bethabara.
48. Stokes County *Court Records*, Dec. 8, 1801. (N.C. State Archives, Raleigh) "ordered that Henry Myers orphan of Jacob Myers Dec'd. Aged 10 years the 13th of Feby. next be bound unto Isaac Boner . . . to learn the art and mystery of a hatter . . ." Isaac Boner had married Jacob Meyer's sister, Dorothea.
49. AC, 10 Feb. 1789; Moravian Archives, Southern Province. The apprenticeship bond was not written until December 1789 (AC, 8 Dec. 1789), and it was noted that "The boy Sam. Meyer was now contracted to Br. Yarrel . . ." (AC, 12 Jan. 1790).
50. "Four boys were accepted this year in the Choir of the Single Brethren. They are . . . Sam. Meyer . . ." AC, 10 Sept. 1793; Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
51. *Ibid.*, 22 April 1794.
52. "From the remarks of Sam. Meyer we cannot see that his behavior has changed and that he is sorry for what he has done. Therefore the Collegium thought it would be best for him to leave us soon. This can be told to Br. Yarrel in another conference with the Collegium." *Ibid.*, 29 April 1794.
53. "Sam. Meyer has asked some time ago that he would like to try once more to act according to the Community Rules, and asked for our patience." *Ibid.*, 13 May 1794.
54. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1794.
55. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1794.
56. *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1794. On November 11 it was reported that ". . . Sam. Meyer is going to leave Salem today."
57. "We have heard that [Yarrel] has asked Sam. Meyer to work for him on the days which he is not riding the mail . . . we cannot permit this nor that [Meyer] lives with him . . ." *Ibid.*, 2 Dec. 1794.
58. Samuel Meyer's wife "Holdy Gons" (Jones) is listed in the *Friedberg Church Book* at the birth of son Philip Jacob Meyer, 8 November 1803,

- while she is listed as "Elisabeth Jones" at the birth of son Isaac Thomas, 4 April 1810 (*Bethania Church Book*); Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
59. "Sam Meyer, who was formerly here in the community, has asked whether or not he could work in the summer for Br. Yarrel; his parents were told in the Elder's Conference that this could not be permitted . . . (Meyer) must not be tolerated in the community." *AC*, 21 March 1797; Moravian Archives, Southern Province.
 60. "Br. Yarrel has employed Sam. Meyer though he knows perfectly well this is not allowed . . . when asked about this he said that Meyer had asked him for employment for just a few days [until] his father-in-law would find him a place to live. However, [Yarrel] said Meyer had left him already . . ." *Ibid.*, 25 Sept. 1797.
 61. "The Memoir of Samuel Meyer," *Salem Diary*, 1811; Moravian Archives, Southern Province. This account of Meyer's life makes no mention of his possible residence in Randolph County. However, the short sketch seems to skip from Meyer's marriage in 1796 to events shortly before his death, and emphasizes Meyer's deathbed conversion back into the church.
 62. James, "A Tavern in the Town," pp. 44-45. Meyer's will (Stokes County *Wills*, N.C. State Archives) was written 6 years before his death. It leaves his "large German Bible" to Jacob, Jr., to be property of grandson Henry. There is no further information about their relationship.
 63. See John Bivins, Jr., "Fraktur in the South: An Itinerant Artist," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Vol. I, November 2. (Nov. 1975).
 64. Lawson, John, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, H. T. Lefler, ed., 1967. (Chapel Hill; University of N.C. Press), pp. 56-59.
 65. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, Vol. 2, p. 519.
 66. In 1763 the tract was acquired by John Ledford, one of the Germanic immigrants of that period. In later deeds the trading post seems to be referred to as "the Old Caraway House." Godfrey Ridge, a German resident of the late eighteenth-century, and the name of the nearby Ridge's Mountain, may be related to the Ridge of the trading post. See also Rowan Co. *Deed Book 5*, pp. 336-7, Henry McCulloh to John "Sitford" (Ledford); 200 acres on Shepherd's Fork of Caraway. Also, Randolph Co. *Deed Book 8*, p. 353, ". . . cross the path leading from said Ledford's to the Old Caraway House" (1802).
 67. Part of this road, so-called because it followed the crests of the hills, is still used as the access road to the Mount Shepherd camp.
 68. G. W. Paschal, ed., "Morgan Edwards' Materials Toward a History of the Baptists in the Province of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (July, 1930), Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 393.
 69. Diary of the Rev. George Söelle, 1771: "This is a unique species of people. They appear to me like Aesop's crow which feathered itself with other bird's feathers. They have Moravian, Quaker, Separatist, Dunkard principles, know everything and know nothing, look down on others, belong to no one, and spurn others." Quoted in John Scott Davenport, "Earliest Pfautz/Fouts Families in America," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (December, 1975), p. 255.

70. Dr. John Scott Davenport, a professor at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, is the acknowledged authority on the history of the North Carolina Dunkers and this sketch of the Uwharrie Dunker Congregation follows his outlines. His *Pacifists, Loyalists, Collaborators: The Dunkers in North Carolina During the Revolution* is a soon-to-be-published work on the subject.
71. Dr. Davenport characterizes the Bethania area as having been settled by a number of Dunker families, one of which was the Shouse family.
72. Stutzman's home property lay on the west bank of the Uwharrie, near the county line. The reasons why he would enter a tract of mountain land non-contiguous to his own are open to speculation.
73. There is no "memoir" or the type of posthumous biographical sketch written for members of the Moravian Church existing for Meyer. He died outside the church.
74. Meyer was apprenticed Jan. 17, 1786; Christ moved to Bethabara Feb. 10, 1786.
75. The governing committees of Salem had recognized Aust's increasing incapacity as early as 1786, when Christ was finally allowed to establish his own pottery at Bethabara. At this point, it was noted that "old Br. Aust is very weak and stays in bed most of the time." (Bivins, *Moravian Potters*, p. 29). This probably engendered Jacob Meyer, Sr.'s complaints about the lack of supervision at the pottery (AC, 30 May 1786; Moravian Archives, Southern Province). Aust departed for Pennsylvania in April, 1788; the pottery was under the chaotic management of the two apprentices for nine months before Christ arrived to take charge (Bivins, *op. cit.*, p. 30). In 1789, Frederic William Marshall, the Administrator of Wachovia, reported to the Unity Vorseher Collegium that "More potter shops are being built in the neighborhood, and while they make little good ware it hurts our market, and it is a wonder that our pottery has been able to maintain itself, especially as the purchasers generally want to buy for products which it cannot always take." (Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, Vol. 5, p. 2283). In his 1793 report, Marshall hinted that Christ's experimentation with new product lines such as faience was to lure customers back to Salem (Bivins, *Moravian Potters*, p. 15). By 1795 Marshall is able to report a resurgence, as the Salem operation ". . . continues to have a larger trade than we expected as our pottery is better made, so that during the last year we could not always supply all that was wanted." (Bivins, *Ibid.*, p. 16). Christ had added stoneware to his regular production by 1803 (Bivins, *Ibid.*, p. 84). The roots of the non-Moravian stoneware tradition is presently unknown, but by the second quarter of the 19th-century it was flourishing all across the piedmont.

The author is greatly indebted to Alain Outlaw, now the Commissioner of Archaeology for the State of Virginia, for permission to itemize and illustrate Mount Shepherd material in advance of his forthcoming site report. The research assistance of Mrs. Bobbie Grigg and Dr. John S. Davenport is sincerely appreciated, as is the help of Mrs. Kathleen Whatley in the preparation of the manuscript. The author is also indebted to Pat McPherson, Larry Trotter, and the Board of Managers of the Mount Shepherd Retreat Center.



Figure 1. Desk-and-bookcase, ca. 1800, attributed to Peter Eddleman, cherry with desk interior of walnut, yellow pine secondary wood. HOA 81½", WOA 43⅞", DOA 21". MESDA accession 2564-2.

*City Meets the Country:
the Work of Peter Eddleman, Cabinetmaker*

LUKE BECKERDITE

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a number of cabinetmakers flourished in the Catawba Valley region of North Carolina. Stylistically, the groups of furniture associated with these craftsmen are quite similar, each possessing design features suggesting a Delaware Valley influence as well as distinctly regional characteristics. While it is possible that the groups of furniture are related, the correspondence of stylistic details can also be understood as the development of a regional style. Illustrating the mainstream development of style within the Catawba Valley is the furniture attributed to Peter Eddleman, the region's only cabinetmaker to whom extant pieces may be attributed at this time.

Located in North Carolina's southwestern piedmont, the Catawba Valley was rapidly populated in the middle of the eighteenth century by Scots-Irish and German colonists from the Delaware Valley; this influx of settlers through the Valley of Virginia continued virtually unabated until the eve of the Revolutionary War. Included among the later contingent of settlers on the western Carolina frontier was the family of Peter Eddleman. The term "frontier" may be somewhat of a misnomer, since numerous trades were established in the piedmont region by the 1770s. In the Catawba River Valley one of the earliest industries was ironmaking. Lincoln County, for example, boasted of several merchant furnaces actively engaged in production by 1798; Joseph Graham was the proprietor of Vesuvius Furnace, Alexander Brevard of Mount Tirzah Forge, Peter Forney of Mount Welcome, and John Fulenwider of High

Shoals.¹ Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries these furnaces flourished, creating a source of wealth which provided support for the region's tradesmen.

Peter Eddleman [Adleman] was born in 1762, the first child of Bastion and Sarah Eddleman. Bastion had immigrated to America from the German Palatinate, settling in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about 1750.² By 1768, the family had emigrated from Bucks County to Rowan County, North Carolina, where they resided until after the end of the Revolutionary War.³

Peter Eddleman may have learned the cabinetmaker's trade during his family's residence in Rowan County. The 1781 diary of John Arends mentions payment made to a Peter Eddleman for carpentry work.⁴ Unfortunately, Arends' entry is inconclusive, as there were at least three different men named Peter Eddleman living in Rowan County in the late eighteenth century.⁵ That cabinetmaker Peter Eddleman did work in the carpenter's trade may be true. Aside from this duplicity of trades commonly occurring in the Carolina backcountry, oral tradition in the Catawba Valley has maintained that Eddleman was responsible for the interior woodwork of the Thomas Rhyne House⁶ and finish carpentry of the Lincolnton Tavern.⁷ Peter Eddleman could have been apprenticed as early as 1776; however, this appears unlikely, since he enlisted for service in the Rowan Militia in 1777 as a substitute for his brother-in-law, Leonard Clifford [Seiffert?].⁸ In 1780 and 1781 he again served with the militia, each time as a replacement for Michael Holdshouser.⁹ Assuming that Eddleman was apprenticed in Rowan County, his indenture must have fallen between the years 1781 and 1784, since his sporadic tours of duty with the militia would have rendered an earlier apprenticeship somewhat impracticable.

By 1784, the Eddleman family had apparently removed to Lincoln County, North Carolina, for on April 24, 1794, Amos Spiece of that county paid Bastion Eddleman £ 20 for a tract of land bearing a patent date August 17, 1784.¹⁰

Peter Eddleman may have opened his own shop in Lincoln County by 1791. On January 28, 1791, he purchased from Jacob Sides a tract of land on the "waters of Leeper's Creek."¹¹ A tributary of the Catawba River, Leeper's Creek appears on the 1808 Price-Strother map of North Carolina and is located near the town of Stanley in present-day Gaston County. Peter Eddleman's land transaction would have placed him in close proxim-

ity to Thomas Rhyne, one of the cabinetmaker's patrons. Rhyne had immigrated to America from Germany, settling in Lincoln County about the middle of the eighteenth century. Within a short time, Rhyne had accumulated a considerable fortune, primarily in land holdings.¹² Apparently Thomas Rhyne's prosperity enabled him to commission Peter Eddleman to make furniture appropriate for his imposing new home. Rhyne's five bay, Flemish-bond brick house was completed in 1799. Glazed headers spelling out the owner's initials and that date were laid in the face-brick of the chimney.

Rhyne family tradition maintains that Eddleman completely furnished the Rhyne House during the course of a year.¹³ While that time-span might be considered questionable, the existence of a large press (Fig. 6) and a desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 1) attests to the authenticity of the fact that Thomas Rhyne bespoke work with Eddleman. Penciled on the back of the bookcase of the desk-and-bookcase is an early twentieth century provenance of the piece, delineating ownership through the Rhyne, Pegram, and Reinhardt families. The furniture that Peter Eddleman made for Thomas Rhyne was appropriate for a man of property; however, variations in ornamentation and design features in his furniture indicate that he also worked for those of lesser means (Fig. 4).

In 1817, Peter Eddleman left the Catawba Valley for a lengthy visit with his brother in the Missouri Territory. Affirming Eddleman's sojourn is a December 10, 1817, receipt for his \$67 purchase of a "sorrel mare with a bald face" in Cape Girardeau County.¹⁴ Peter Eddleman may have returned to Lincoln County during the summer of 1818, for on the fourth of September he sold Richard Cowan eight acres of land on Leeper's Creek.¹⁵

Eddleman continued in the cabinetmaker's trade after his return. On February 14, 1821, he took John White as an apprentice "for a full term of three years" to "learn the art trade and mystery of a shop joiner."¹⁶ In 1825, he may have enlarged or remodeled a house located on the "Forks of Dutchman's Creek,"¹⁷ where he probably operated a workshop in or near his house.

At the age of sixty-three, Peter Eddleman made a late start on a family, for on March 25, 1830, he married Dicia Swanson Clippard, a widow with three young children. Their first son, David Franklin, was born in 1831 and their second, William

Peter, in 1833.¹⁸ Apparently, Eddleman was flourishing in areas other than his trade, for his sons were born when he was aged sixty-nine and seventy-one. That Peter Eddleman continued to be active is further demonstrated by his attendance of a Fourth of July celebration in 1836. Eddleman was recorded as one of several Revolutionary War soldiers present who “responded to toasts.”¹⁹

With the exception of one land transaction, little is known of the last decade of Peter Eddleman’s life. On January 21, 1847, he signed his last will and testament, bequeathing to his wife, Dicia, his land, “Mansion House . . . out buildings and improvements,” and four negroes,²⁰ a bequest which suggests that Eddleman had enjoyed a successful trade.

A stylistic study of the furniture attributed to Peter Eddleman is predicated upon an understanding of the culture of the region in which he learned the trade and later worked. A substantial percentage of the early settlers of the western piedmont originated in the Delaware Valley. Throughout the period of the southward migrations, Philadelphia was the cultural center of the Delaware Valley; around this cosmopolitan city a regional culture had developed that was comprised of both English and Teutonic elements. With the southward migrations, the cultural identity of the Delaware Valley was thereby extended to include piedmont North Carolina.²¹

Isolated from the Middle Atlantic colonies and North Carolina’s tidewater region, the piedmont culture developed an inclination towards regional mannerism.²² Sophisticated design features introduced to the piedmont by northern cabinetmakers were rapidly absorbed by the provincial culture of the North Carolina backcountry. Within the Catawba Valley region, this process of assimilation resulted in the development of an identifiable regional style.

A number of stylistic details employed by Eddleman in the construction of case pieces suggest a Delaware Valley influence. Typical design indices include the use of robust ogee feet with spur-like responds, narrow fluted quarter columns, and, in desk interiors, conventionally arranged writing compartments with ogee-blocked drawer fronts.

The Rhyne desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 1) exemplifies the varying degrees of success achieved by Eddleman in the employment of urban design features. The serpentine blocking of the small drawers and fenestration of the interior of the desk section are

very much in the Philadelphia manner. Forming the top of the pigeon-holes is a simply incised, C-scroll fascia which effectively accentuates the plan of the drawer fronts. Less sophisticated is the desk's central prospect door. The simple door fluting evidently was Eddleman's interpretation of an urban architectural detail (i.e. fluted pilasters) frequently associated with the prospects of Philadelphia examples. Behind the prospect door is a removable compartment with two small drawers in the front and two concealed drawers in the rear. Red staining, a decorative technique of the Federal period, was used by Eddleman to accentuate the desk interior.

In both form and ornamentation, the exterior of the desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 1) demonstrates a rural approach in the use of sophisticated details. Surmounting graceful yet exaggerated ogee feet, the desk section is adorned with thin fluted quarter columns with unusual inlaid "fluting" and thick, lunetted-corner band inlay on the case drawer fronts and the faces of the fallboard slides. The bookcase has quarter columns that are identical to those of the Rhyne china press (Fig. 8c). A certain lack of architectural understanding is present in the quarter-column application on all Eddleman-attributed furniture examined in that the base turnings are also made to serve for capitals as well. This naive reversal of the classical order is occasionally found on other examples of southern case furniture. Also a backcountry statement is the use of face-mounted table hinges on the bookcase doors. Presenting a decided contrast to the restrained cyma recta molding and Wall-of-Troy denticulation of the bookcase cornice is the heavy-handed architectural quality of the chamfered fields of the raised-panel doors. Identical field treatment is found on all of Eddleman's pieces that employ such paneling.

The construction techniques employed in the Rhyne desk-and-bookcase are characteristic of Eddleman-attributed case furniture in general. Drawer construction is quite distinctive. The drawer bottoms are paneled on four sides (Fig. 2) rather than having bevels on only three edges as usual. While normally encountered drawer bottoms have a nailed butt-joint at the rear, Eddleman's drawer frames completely trap the bottom. Although this technique is unusual, it does occur infrequently in other piedmont furniture. In the construction of the case, the sides, back, and stiles of the desk section continue to the floor, forming supports for the feet. Both the sides and stiles are



Figure 2. Detail of a drawer bottom of the desk-and-bookcase illustrated in Fig. 3.

shaped to conform to the profile of the ogee feet. Because the case sides extend below the base molding, the bottom of the case is set into ploughed grooves rather than being dovetailed. A desk which descended in the family of Peter Eddleman's youngest son, William Peter, however, has construction details which differ slightly from other examples. In contrast to the interior treatment of the desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 1), the stiles of the Eddleman family desk's upper case drawers are not mortised through the writing surface. Also, the vertical backboards of this desk are secured with trunnels (pegs) where the backs of other Eddleman pieces are nailed. This employment of alternative fasteners is considered typical of Germanic cabinetwork.

Presenting a stylistic deviation from the writing compartment of the Rhyne desk-and-bookcase is the interior of another desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 3). Although the interior drawer arrangement is the same in both pieces, other design features are divergent: drawer fronts are flat rather than serpentine; in the place of a prospect door is a prospect compartment with cove-molded interior and exterior edges, and over each pigeon-

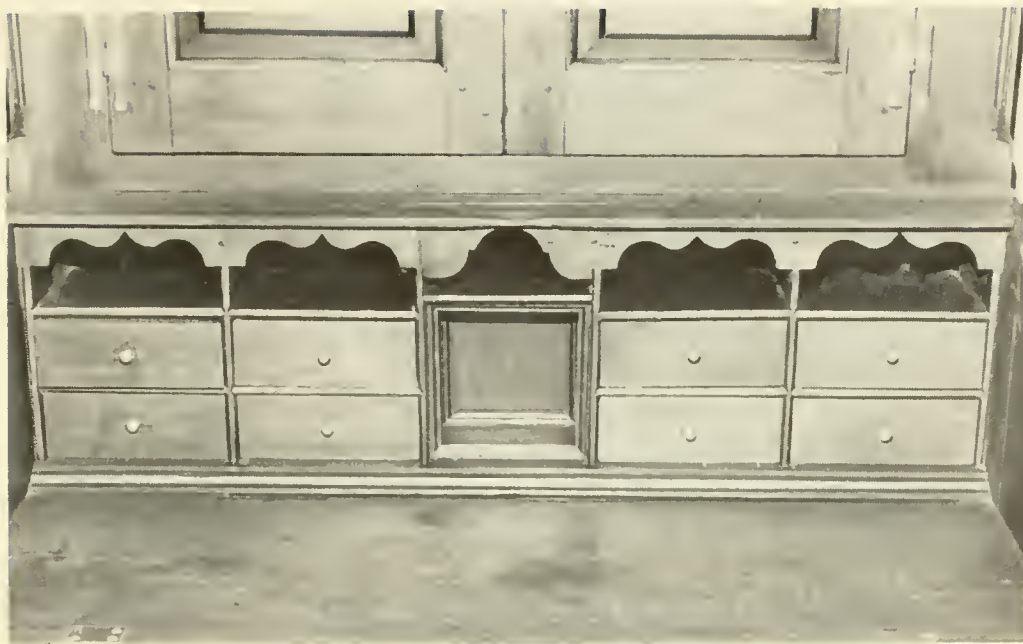


Figure 3. Writing compartment of a desk-and-bookcase, 1795-1810, attributed to Peter Eddleman. Walnut with yellow pine secondary wood. Private collection. MESDA research file S-1711.

hole the fascia is shaped to form two cyma curves peaking in the center rather than having C-scrolls. In exterior details the desk-and-bookcase is similar to the Rhyne example (Fig. 1). The treatment of the bookcase doors is identical and, with the exception of the base and capital turnings, the quarter columns are the same. According to family tradition, both the desk-and-bookcase and the corner cupboard (Fig. 4) were made for William Rankin, who lived about a quarter of a mile from Thomas Rhyne.

One of Eddleman's less opulent pieces, the Rankin corner cupboard has a certain formal German Baroque aspect nonetheless. Stylistically and structurally the cupboard demonstrates a decided regard for solid construction, characteristic of German craftsmanship. Exemplifying this concern are the beveled-field, raised paneled doors, thick materials, large square trunnels, and heavy moldings. Although the cornice molding is a replacement, construction details indicate that the original molding was of similar scale. The case is constructed in one piece and probably once had cove and ovolo bed molding and ogee feet.

Retreating further from the more restrained appearance of the preceding examples is the corner cupboard (Fig. 5). Obvious regional developments include the naively incised lunettes and heart in the cove of the plinth of the central finial (Fig. 5a), the



Figure 4. Corner cupboard, 1795-1810, attributed to Peter Eddleman, walnut with yellow pine secondary wood. HOA 85", WOA 43½". Feet missing and cornice replaced. Private collection. Beckerdite photograph.

globular shape of the finials, and the surprising "port-hole" piercings in the central stile of the upper case. Apparently, these glazed ports were Eddleman's own conceit, for, with the exception of waist-door oculi of clock cases, they have no known parallel in southern furniture. On this cupboard normal stylistic details occur architecturally out of context. For example, shell-like devices are used as spandrels, and the heavy cornice frieze is jammed against the elaborate extrados of the door arches.

Visually, this corner cupboard is something of a badly integrated explosion of ornament, somewhat reminiscent of regional stylistic developments in Pennsylvania-German settlements west of Philadelphia. The enormous size and preponderant horizontal proportions of the cupboard also contribute to its mannerist image by making design features, such as the Wall-of-Troy denticulation of the pediment and inlaid frieze of the base,



Figure 5. Corner cupboard, 1800-1820, attributed to Peter Eddleman, walnut with yellow pine secondary wood. Feet and center finial replaced. HOA 101½", WOA 56⅞". Private collection. MESDA research file S-1698.

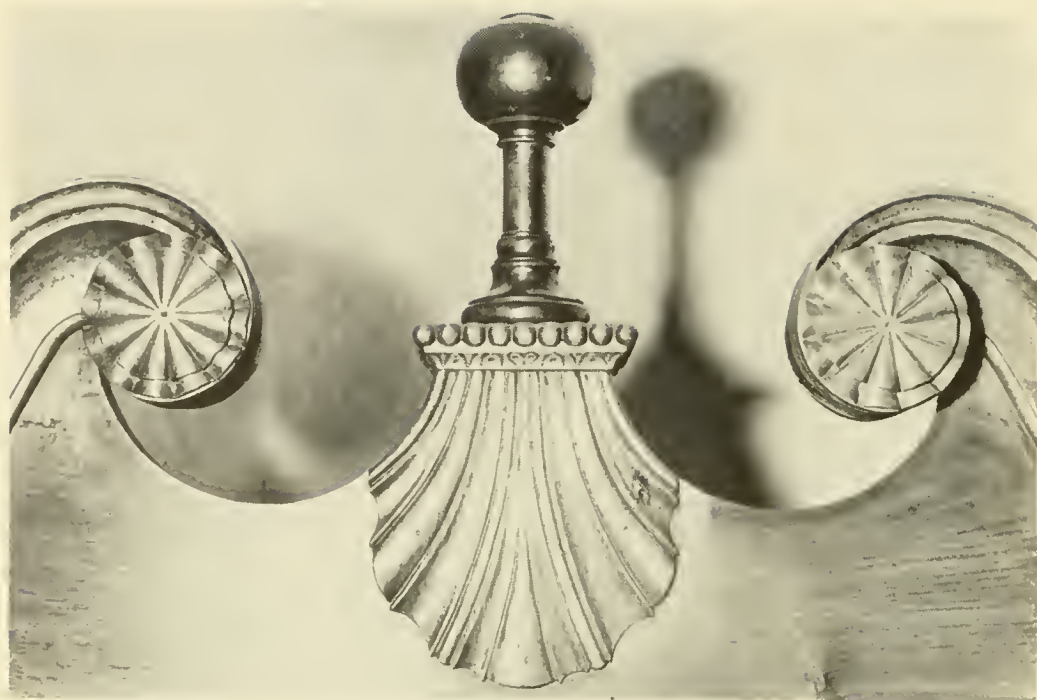


Figure 5a. Detail of center finial and plinth decoration of the tympanum of the corner cupboard illustrated in Fig. 5.

appear unusually conspicuous.

Apparently, lozenges were a favorite inlay motif, since they occur on three Eddleman pieces: the corner cupboard (Fig. 5), breakfast table (Fig. 6), and china press (Fig. 7). The inlay work on the breakfast table is yet another indication of the cabinet-maker's rural interpretation of urban detail. Circumscribing the huge fan inlay on the side rail is an unusual lozenge and string inlaid band which terminates in odd funnel-like details. The inlay is provincial not only in appearance but also in the technique by which it is applied. The diamond band on the top of the table was formed by inlaying directly into the solid rather than being made as a separate strip and set into a channeled cut. Inlays applied in this manner may be peculiar to Eddleman's work within the region.

Epitomizing the process of assimilation associated with the development of regional style is the china press (Fig. 7). Urban stylistic details, including fluted quarter columns, ogee feet, and a broken scroll pediment are incorporated in the design of an essentially regional furniture form. It would seem that Eddleman had a bit of difficulty in adapting at least one of these details to the enormous scale of the press since the cornice is overtly lopsided. Again, design features are used out of context.

The nosing of the upper bed molding is notch-carved and an inlaid fascia appears below the drawers of the lower case (Fig. 7a).

The inlay on the china press is its most conspicuous regional feature. Somewhat reminiscent of *fraktur* work, the tulip on the tympanum appears to grow out of the medial molding above the central stile, its florets accentuating the arch of the doors (Fig. 7b). Also inlaid in the tympanum are fylfots (pinwheels), a familiar Pennsylvania-German motif. On the fascia above the lower case doors and outlining the arched doors are elongated lozenge inlays (Fig. 7). The same diamonds are shaped and assembled to form the stars between the glazed ports of the central stile (Fig. 7c).

Judging from the furniture made by Peter Eddleman, it is clear that urban details could be employed successfully by rural cabinetmakers; however, these details did not always survive intact in the backcountry environment. The scallop shell adorning the tympanum of the corner cupboard (Fig. 5a), for in-



Figure 6. Breakfast table, 1800-1820, attributed to Peter Eddleman, walnut with yellow pine secondary wood. HOA 30", WOA open 46", DOA 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". MESDA accession 2073-26.



Figure 7. Press, ca. 1800, attributed to Peter Eddleman, walnut with yellow pine and walnut secondary woods. Feet replaced to the original pattern. HOA less finial 116", WOA 70", DOA 18³/₄". Private collection. MESDA research file S-1694.

stance, appears in stylized form as the fan-like detail on the china press (Fig. 7).



Figure 7a. Detail of the upper bed molding and frieze inlay of the press illustrated in Fig. 7.



Figure 7b. Detail of the tympanum inlay of the press illustrated in Fig. 7.

Northern artisans from the Middle Atlantic region introduced certain sophisticated stylistic details to the North Carolina backcountry in the middle of the eighteenth century, but in a provincial environment tempered by cultural lag, these design features could not continue unaffected. Within the Catawba Valley region, the influence of the folk culture gave rise to more than just the retention of forms. As the furniture attributed to Peter Eddleman illustrates, the result was the development of a unique regional style.



Figure 7c. Detail of the center stile of the upper case of the press illustrated in Fig. 7.

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FOOTNOTES

1. William L. Sherill, *Annals of Lincoln County* (1937 reprinted, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 436-438.
2. John H. Eddleman and William R. Eddleman, *Genealogical Papers of the Eddleman Family*, Copy in the Research Files of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as MRF.
3. U.S. Pension Bureau, Revolutionary War Pension Application, File No. W7085, N.C. Service, United States Pension Bureau, Washington, D.C. Peter Eddleman states that his mother told him that he was born in 1764 and that his family moved to Rowan County when he was about six years

- old. Because his service in the Rowan militia and the date on his tombstone indicate a 1762 birth date, the family's move was probably around 1768.
4. *Diary of John Arends*, Copy on file at the Davidson County Public Library, Lexington, N.C., p. 5.
 5. *Deed Book 13*, Rowan County, p. 212.
 6. Interview with Mrs. Barbara Rhyne, Stanley, N.C., October 13, 1979.
 7. Interview with Mr. John H. Eddleman, Lowell, N.C., October 13, 1979.
 8. Pension Application.
 9. Ibid.
 10. *Deed Book 19*, Lincoln County, p. 446.
 11. *Deed Book 16*, Lincoln County, p. 153.
 12. Rhyne Interview.
 13. Ibid.
 14. Peter Crites to Peter Eddleman, Receipt, December 10, 1817, Copy in MRF under Eddleman, Peter. Apparently, Peter Eddleman left the Catawba Valley in 1817. On September 1, 1817, he sold a tract of land on Leeper's Creek. (*Deed Book 28*, Lincoln County, p. 565). According to Eddleman family tradition Peter's visit with his brother in the Missouri Territory was of one or two years in duration (Eddleman Interview).
 15. *Deed Book 29*, Lincoln County, p. 244.
 16. *Indenture of John White*, February 14, 1821, Copy in MRF under Eddleman, Peter.
 17. There is some question as to whether Eddleman built or remodeled a house. The chimney of the house was dated 1825 (Eddleman, Genealogical Papers); however, according to one descendant, Peter Eddleman remodeled an eighteenth century house (Mrs. W. H. Jarman to John Bivins, Jr., Copy in MRF under Eddleman, Peter). Since the house burned in 1966, a determination of its date cannot be made.
 18. Eddleman, Genealogical Papers.
 19. Sherrill, *Annals*, p. 117.
 20. *Last Will and Testament of Peter Eddleman*, January 21, 1847, Copy in MRF under Eddleman, Peter.
 21. Robert W. Ramsay, *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 9.
 22. John Bivins, Jr., "A Piedmont North Carolina Cabinetmaker: The Development of Regional Style," *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 103, No. 5, May 1973, p. 968.

For assistance in preparing this article I would like to thank Mrs. W. H. Jarman, Mr. John H. Eddleman, Mr. William R. Eddleman, Mrs. Barbara Rhyne, Mr. Frank Rankin, Mrs. Richard Rankin, Mr. Earl Meachum, and Mrs. Dorothy Welker, whose chronology of events in Eddleman's life simplified this study's organization. Special thanks are extended to Mr. John Bivins and Mr. Frank Horton, without whose insights this article would not have been possible.

MESDA seeks manuscripts which treat virtually any facet of southern decorative art for publication in the JOURNAL. The MESDA staff would also like to examine any privately-held primary research material (documents and manuscripts) from the South, and southern newspapers published in 1820 and earlier.

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